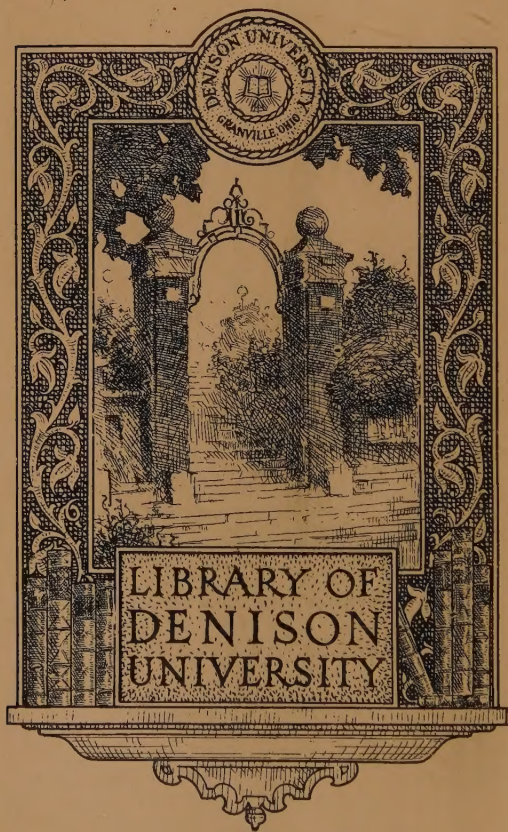


WITHDRAWN

PORTRAITS
OF
ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED

FROM AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY, AND THE
PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

WITH
Biographical and Historical Memoirs
OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS.

BY EDMUND LODGE, ESQ., F.S.A.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

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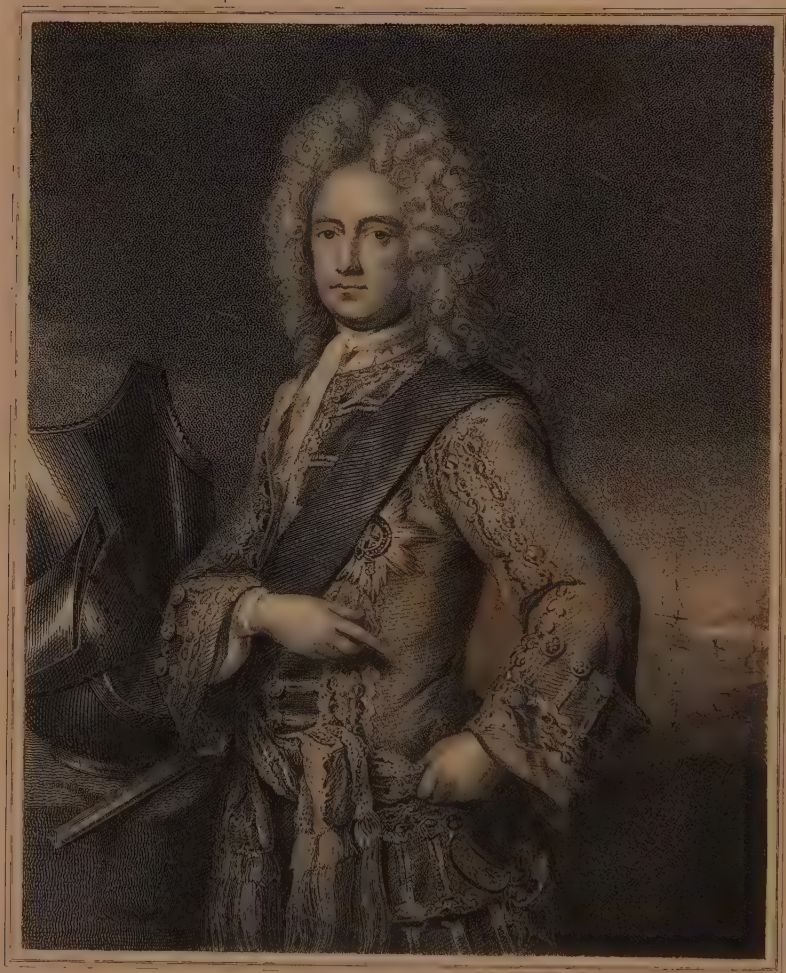
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CONTENTS.

VOLUME IX.

1. CHARLES MORDAUNT, THIRD EARL OF PETERBOROUGH. DAHL. 1735
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Liverpool, at Combe Wood.
2. JOHN CAMPBELL, SECOND DUKE OF ARGYLL, AND DUKE OF GREENWICH. KNELLER. 1743
From the Collection of the Honourable George Agar Ellis.
3. SARAH JENNINGS, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH. LELY. 1744
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, at Blenheim.
4. JAMES BUTLER, SECOND DUKE OF ORMOND. KNELLER. 1745
From the Collection of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, at Chatsworth.
5. ROBERT WALPOLE, FIRST EARL OF ORFORD. JERVAS. 1746
From the Collection of Thomas Walpole, Esq. at Stagbury.
6. CHARLES SEYMOUR, SIXTH DUKE OF SOMERSET. KNELLER. 1748
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.
7. JOHN MONTAGU, SECOND DUKE OF MONTAGU. KNELLER. 1749
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.
8. HENRY ST. JOHN, FIRST VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE. KNELLER. 1751
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.
9. RICHARD BOYLE, EARL OF BURLINGTON. KNAPTON. 1753
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, at Chatsworth.
10. HORATIO, FIRST LORD WALPOLE. VANLOO. 1757
From the Collection of Thomas Walpole, Esq. at Stagbury.
11. WILLIAM PULTENEY, EARL OF BATH. JERVAS. 1764
From the Collection of the Right Honourable Lord Northwick.

12. PHILIP YORKE, FIRST EARL OF HARDWICKE. . RAMSAY. 1764
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Hardwicke, at Wimpole.
13. THOMAS HOLLES PELHAM, DUKE OF NEWCASTLE. HOARE. 1768
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, at Clumber.
14. JOHN MANNERS, MARQUIS OF GRANBY. . REYNOLDS. 1770
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.
15. JOHN RUSSELL, DUKE OF BEDFORD. . . REYNOLDS. 1771
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.
16. HENRY FOX, FIRST LORD HOLLAND. . . REYNOLDS. 1774
From the Collection of the Right Honourable Lord Holland, at Holland House.
17. ROBERT, LORD CLIVE. 1774
From the Original, in the Government House, Calcutta.
18. WILLIAM PITT, FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM. . HOARE. 1778
From the Collection of the Right Honourable Lord Bridport, at Cricket St. Thomas.
19. ADMIRAL LORD HAWKE. COTES. 1781
From the Naval Gallery, at Greenwich Hospital.
20. CHARLES WATSON WENTWORTH, SECOND MARQUIS OF
 ROCKINGHAM. REYNOLDS. 1782
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl Fitzwilliam, at Wentworth House.
21. ADMIRAL VISCOUNT KEPPEL. REYNOLDS. 1786
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.
22. GEORGE AUGUSTUS ELIOTT, LORD HEATHFIELD.
 REYNOLDS. 1790
From the National Gallery.
23. ADMIRAL LORD RODNEY. REYNOLDS. 1792
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.
24. FREDERICK NORTH, LORD GUILDFORD. . . . DANCE. 1792
From the Collection of the Honourable Georgiana North, at Wroaxton Abbey.



Engraved by W. T. Fox

CHARLES MORDAUNT, EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.

OB. 1735.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF DAHL, IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

CHARLES MORDAUNT,

THIRD EARL OF PETERBOROUGH,

A STATESMAN, a soldier, and a courtier, and not less remarkable for the brilliancy of his wit, and his affection for the placid charms of domestic life, than for the zeal, the courage, and the activity of his public service, was born in, or about, the year 1658. He was the eldest son of the next brother to Henry, the second Earl of Peterborough, John Mordaunt, who having passed more than ten years of his life, in almost perpetual danger of forfeiting it, in the most generous and disinterested services to the cause of Charles the Second, received from that Prince, in the year before his restoration, the title of Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon. His mother, not less zealous, and almost as active, was Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Thomas Carey, second son to Robert, first Earl of Monmouth. His father dying in 1675, he was left to the exercise of his own inclination, and sailed, as it should seem a volunteer, in the fleet under Lord Torrington and Sir John Narborough, which was soon after sent to the Mediterranean against the Algerines. He served also in 1680, with some distinction, in an expedition for the relief of Tangier, in which he accompanied an adventurer even younger than himself, Charles Fitzcharles, Earl of Plymouth, a natural son of the King, who perhaps had the nominal command, and who died there in the course of that year.

Soon after his return he commenced politician, and uniformly opposed the measures of the Court in the House of Peers, where he is said to have been "one of the chief arguers" against the

repeal of the Test Act. This aversion increased after the accession of James, and he engaged in all the secret plans of what was called the Country Party with a vehemence which indeed always distinguished him in all things, of all sorts, that he ever undertook. They seem indeed to have chosen him as the manager of their intrigues with the Prince of Orange. Thus marked as a partisan, he had the boldness to represent to the King that the command of a Dutch squadron about to sail for the West Indies had been offered to him, and asked permission to accept it, and to go to Holland; and James, who could not but have at least suspected his real motives, magnanimously granted it. Arrived there, he immediately offered his services to the Prince, and was the first, says Burnet, "of the English nobility that came over openly to see him." William received him with great cordiality, and listened to proposals, which he seems to have made very abruptly, for an immediate invasion of England, with a readiness and condescension which prove that he considered him as an accredited messenger from the revolutionary party there. Burnet however tells us that "he represented the matter as so easy that it appeared too romantical to the Prince to build upon it;" and adds that "he was a man of much heat, many notions, and full of discourse; that he was brave and generous, but had not true judgment, and that his thoughts were crude and undigested, and his secrets soon known."

In spite of these objections, and of William's cautious temper, he was actively concerned in every material part of the prelude to the revolution, and at length attended the Prince hither in 1688, on whose elevation to the throne he was called to the Privy Council, and appointed a Lord of the Bedchamber; on the eighth of April, 1689, he was placed in the office of first Commissioner of the Treasury; on the following day created Earl of Monmouth; and a few weeks after was constituted Lord Lieutenant of the county of Northampton. In this very year, and under these circumstances, if we are to believe Burnet, he became apprised of a Scottish design to restore James, and not only let it pass without

THIRD EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.

disclosing it to William, but even betrayed an inclination to its success. The Bishop's words are : " Montgomery" (the chief agent here) " came to have great credit with some of the Whigs in England, particularly with the Earl of Monmouth, and the Duke of Bolton, and he employed it all to persuade them not to trust the King, and to animate them against the Earl of Portland. This wrought so much that many were disposed to think they could have good terms from King James ; and that he was now so convinced of former errors that they might safely trust him. The Earl of Monmouth let this out to myself twice, but in a strain that looked like one who was afraid of it, and who endeavoured to prevent it ; but he set forth the reasons for it with great advantage, and those against it very faintly." He maintained his character however for fidelity ; and, in the spring of 1694, when William, soon after the meeting of a new Parliament in which the Tories preponderated, was obliged to soothe them by the dismissal of some of his ministers, Monmouth was of the number, and quitted his office of the Treasury on the second of May in that year.

He was no more employed in this reign. On the nineteenth of June, 1697, he succeeded to the titles and estates of his family, upon the death of his uncle, Henry, Earl of Peterborough, and the few years which immediately preceded and followed that event were passed by him in the most graceful indolence—in the society of the first men of genius of his time, and in the cultivation of elegant literature ; in foreign travel, and in building, and the tasteful improvement of his estates at home. Amidst these delightful engagements, public affairs appeared to be, and probably were, wholly forgotten, and it is to be feared that all seriousness was even worse than excluded—Peterborough is said to have been at least a deist, and without the decency of concealment. During a visit of some time to the celebrated Fenelon, at his archiepiscopal palace at Cambray, he was so charmed by the sweetness of temper and benevolence which adorned the pious lessons of that Prelate, that he said to the Chevalier Ramsay, " Upon my word I must quit

this place as soon as possible, for if I stay here another week I shall be a Christian in spite of myself.

On the accession of Anne, he was again brought into public service by her Whig ministry, and appointed Governor of Jamaica. How long he held that office does not appear, but it could have been little more than two years, for on the twenty-seventh of March, 1705, he was sworn of her Privy Council, and at the same time declared general of the forces then about to be sent to Spain, and Admiral, jointly with Sir Cloudesley Shovel, of the fleet which conveyed them thither. He had no experience to recommend him to these weighty commissions beyond the two volunteer expeditions of his boyhood, and such military observations as he might have made on a single campaign in Flanders, where he had attended William in 1692, and in which he had no distinct command : but he possessed a quickness of apprehension, a clearness of judgment, and a promptness and firmness of decision, which, joined to the most undaunted courage, had fitted him intuitively to lead an army : nor can it be doubted that he owed his nomination to this important service to the Duke of Marlborough, then in the plenitude of his influence, and to that great man's observation of those qualities in another which so splendidly shone in himself.

The bravery and skill manifested by Peterborough in his two campaigns in Spain were admirable. He sailed from England on the twenty-fourth of May, and, taking on board at Lisbon Charles the Third, one of the rival kings, landed in the bay of Barcelona in the beginning of August. The military placed under his command were found to be so miserably inferior in number, that they had scarcely disembarked when the question was agitated in a council of war, whether it would not be prudent wholly to abandon the objects of the expedition, and to return. Peterborough, and the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, who had been governor of Barcelona till the French had taken it for Philip the Fifth, were the only advocates for offensive operations, and an immediate siege of that city, which however were in the end determined on, and the Prince of Hesse fell in the very outset. The troops first

THIRD EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.

landed, which he, jointly with the Earl, had commanded, were disheartened, and gave way, when Peterborough rallied them, and attacking furiously a fort, which was held to be the key to Barcelona, and impregnable, carried it almost without loss; and, bombarding the city from the elevation on which it stood, blew up the magazine of powder, by which the Governor and some of his best officers were killed, and the town soon after surrendered at discretion.

It is not intended, nor would it be here proper, to recount his operations in detail, even thus confined: suffice it therefore to say, that when Barcelona was soon after again attacked by the French, under the Duke of Anjou, he forced them to raise the siege, with immense loss of men, ammunition, and provisions; and, in the following year, with only ten thousand men, chased that Prince, and Philip the Fifth, at the head of an army of twenty-five thousand, wholly out of Spain: taking possession of Catalonia, Valencia, Arragon, and Majorca, with part of Murcia and Castile; thus clearing the way for the Earl of Galway, who commanded an English army in Portugal, to march to Madrid without resistance. Through the whole of these exploits, as his sagacity was equalled by his courage, so was his vigilance by his activity. Swift, with whom he lived in the latter years of his leisure in the strictest intimacy, alluding in one of his letters to the rapidity of his motions, says that Queen Anne's ministers used to complain that they were obliged to write at him, and not to him; and some one, as Lord Orford tells us, said of him that he had seen more kings, and more postillions, than any other man in Europe.

His brilliant services however could not secure him from one of those party attacks which so frequently disfigure the history of that reign. He was recalled in 1707, and great reverses of fortune presently occurred to the English army, in Spain. On his return Anne refused to admit him to her presence, and an inquiry into his conduct was commenced by both Houses of Parliament. After an examination of witnesses and papers which lasted many days, the proceedings were suspended, nor were they resumed till

CHARLES MORDAUNT,

the winter of 1710, when the resentment of parliament was transferred to the Earl of Galway; and on the twelfth of January, N. S., Peterborough received the thanks of the House of Peers, couched in the most flattering terms. He was now again received into full favour, and presently sent Ambassador to Vienna, as he was in the course of this and the following year to Turin, and other courts of Italy, and on his return, in the end of 1712, was appointed colonel of the royal regiment of horse guards; on the fourth of August, 1713, installed a Knight of the Garter; and soon after went Ambassador extraordinary to the King of Naples and Sicily, from whence he returned not till after the death of the Queen.

Here ended his public life. The long remainder seems to have glided on to very old age in a felicity which few experience, and which no one better knew how to enjoy. If not deeply respected, highly beloved; not less admired for the good-nature than for the brilliancy of his wit; honest even in his politics; firm in his friendships; amiable in his very foibles; he reached the age of seventy-seven years, which had passed in uninterrupted health and vigour. All his mortal sufferings were reserved for his last days, and they were sharp indeed. From what morbid cause they arose we are not informed—surely not from a wound received in the public service, which his ungrateful country forgot to record—but we have the following account of them in a letter from Pope to his friend Martha Blount, highly characteristic of the subject, and somewhat of the writer.

Bevis Mount, near Southampton,

“MADAM,

August the 17th, 1735.

“I found my Lord Peterborough on his couch, where he gave me an account of the excessive sufferings he had passed through with a weak voice, but spirited. He talked of nothing but the great amendment of his condition, and of finishing the buildings and gardens for his best friend to enjoy after him; that he had one care more, when he went into France, which was to

THIRD EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.

give a true account to posterity of some parts of history in Queen Anne's reign, which Burnet had scandalously represented ; and of some others to justify her against the imputation of intending to bring in the Pretender, which to his knowledge, neither her ministers Oxford and Bolingbroke, nor she, had any design to do. He next told me he had ended his domestic affairs, through such difficulties from the law, that gave him as much torment of mind as his distemper had done of body, to do right to the person to whom he had obligations beyond expression. That he had found it necessary not only to declare his marriage to all his relations, but, since the person who married them was dead, to re-marry her in the church at Bristol before witnesses. The warmth with which he spoke on these subjects made me think him much recovered, as well as his talking of his present state as a heaven to what was past. I lay in the next room to him, where I found he was awake, and called for help most hours of the night, sometimes crying out for pain. In the morning he got up at nine, and was carried into the garden in a chair. He fainted away twice there. He fell about twelve into a violent pang, which made his limbs all shake, and his teeth chatter, and for some time he lay cold as death. His wound was dressed, which was done constantly four times a day, and he grew gay, and sat at dinner with ten people. After this he was in great torment for a quarter of an hour, and as soon as the pang was over was carried into the garden to the workmen, talking again of history, and declaimed with great spirit against the meanness of the present great men and ministers, and the decay of the public spirit and honour. It is impossible to conceive how much his heart is above his condition. He is dying every other hour, and obstinate to do whatever he has a mind to. He has concerted no measures beforehand for his journey, but to get a yacht, in which he will set sail ; but no place fixed on to reside at, nor has determined what place to land at, nor has provided any accommodation for his going on land. He talks of getting towards Lyons, but undoubtedly he never can travel but to the sea shore. I pity the poor woman who has to share in all he suffers, and who can in no one thing persuade

CHARLES MORDAUNT, THIRD EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.

him to spare himself. I think he will be lost in this attempt, and attempt it he will. He has with him, day after day, not only all his relations, but every creature of the town of Southampton that pleases. He lies on his couch, and receives them, though he says little. When his pains come, he desires them to walk out, but invites them to stay and dine or sup, &c. He says he will go at the month's end if he is alive. Nothing can be more affecting and melancholy to me than what I see here: yet he takes my visit so kindly that I should have lost one great pleasure had I not come. I have nothing more to say, as I have nothing in my mind but this present object, which indeed is extraordinary. This man was never born to die like other men, any more than to live like them."

He did however reach the end of his intended journey, and died at Lisbon on the twenty-fifth of the following October, N. S. Lord Peterborough married, first, Carey, daughter of Sir Alexander Fraser, of Dotes, in the shire of Mearns, in Scotland, by whom he had two sons, John, and Henry, the elder distinguished in the army, the second in the navy, both of whom died before their father; and one daughter, Henrietta, wife of Alexander, second Duke of Gordon. His second Countess was Anastasia Robinson, a celebrated public singer, who is frequently alluded to in the letter we have just now seen, and who had for many years almost lived with him, without any blemish on her character. She long survived him, enjoying that intimacy with many of the rank to which she had been thus raised which the strict correctness of her conduct and manners had deservedly obtained. By her the Earl had no children: he was succeeded therefore by his eldest grandson, Charles, son and heir of his eldest son, John, Lord Mordaunt.



Engraved by S. Freeman.

JOHN CAMPBELL, DUKE OF ARGYLL & GREENWICH.

OB. 1743.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE HON^{BLE} GEORGE AGAR ELLIS.

YTIKREVIINI HOEINBE
YRAHEI
OHIO ELIVIAAG

JOHN CAMPBELL,

SECOND DUKE OF ARGYLL, AND DUKE OF GREENWICH.

THE severities of punishment and forfeiture which an intemperate attachment to the dangerous extravagances of presbyterianism had drawn down on the heads of some of this great nobleman's ancestors, formed an ample recommendation of their posterity to the highest favour upon the great change in the form of English government which occurred in 1688. His father, Archibald, tenth Earl of Argyll, had been accordingly restored in blood immediately after that revolution, and at length received from William the title of Duke. He married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Lionel Talmash, of Helmingham, in Suffolk, by Elizabeth Murray, Countess of Dysart in her own right; and the eminent person of whom we are to treat was the first issue of their union, and was born on the tenth of October, 1678.

He is said to have profited not much by the usual course of a fine education, his attention to which was interrupted by an ardent inclination to the study of the military art, and to the life of a soldier; and so little did this partake of the caprice of a lively boy, that his father at length determined to indulge it, and, soon after his introduction at Court, in his seventeenth year, procured for him the command of a regiment of infantry. He does not appear however to have been engaged in active service till the following reign, when he highly distinguished himself at the siege of Keyzerswaert, one of the first operations of Queen Anne's long and glorious war. In September, 1703, he succeeded to his

JOHN CAMPBELL, SECOND DUKE OF ARGYLL,

father's dignities and estates, and was presently after sworn of the Privy Council in Scotland, and appointed captain of the Horse Guards there; and, on the revival of the order of the Thistle in the next year, was chosen a Knight Companion. In 1705 the important office of High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament was intrusted to him, and with it the management of the overtures to the treaty of Union, an affair of much delicacy and difficulty, by the preparations for which the transactions of that year were distinguished. Argyll promoted the measure with all the powers of his own mind, which were very considerable, and with all the weight of his great family influence in Scotland, and sacrificed to it much of the popularity which he had acquired there, or rather, according to the custom of that country, was born to possess. In this, as in all his early public conduct, he was actuated wholly by a clear and resolute judgment, and the most conscientious motives. "He was extremely forward," says an enemy who has left a character of him, "in effecting what he aimed at and designed, which he owned and promoted above-board, being altogether free of the least share of dissimulation, and his word so sacred, that one might assuredly depend upon it. His head ran more upon the camp than the court; and it appears that nature had dressed him up accordingly, being altogether incapable of the servile dependency and flattering insinuations requisite in the last, and endued with that cheerful lively temper and personal valour esteemed and necessary in the other."

Anne testified her sense of his services in Scotland by receiving him on his return into the English Peerage: on the twenty-sixth of November, 1705, he was created Earl of Greenwich and Lord Chatham, and in the succeeding spring indulged his ruling disposition by serving a campaign, in the station of Brigadier-General, under the Duke of Marlborough, and is said to have evinced great courage and prudence in the famous battle of Ramillies, as he certainly did in the sieges of Ostend and of Menin, which important post presently after surrendered to him. He returned in the autumn to Scotland, and supported in Parliament, with all the

ardour and frankness that distinguished his character, the great question of the Union, by which the senate and the people were then equally agitated. During the debates on it he gave a remarkable proof of his powers of persuasion, as well as of his personal courage, in quitting the House of Lords to present himself alone to an enraged and tumultuous multitude which had assembled at their doors to demand the rejection of the bill, and which was peaceably dispersed solely by his efforts. He longed however to be again engaged in active military service, and we find him soon after, being then a Major-General, and Colonel of the third regiment of infantry, commanding twenty battalions in the battle of Oudenarde, where he acquired signal credit, as well as in the consequent reduction of Lille, Ghent, and Tournay, in the attack of the latter of which he was second in command. He had an eminent share in the victory of Malplaquet, which speedily followed, and which was better known by the name of the Battle of the Woods, having been fought close to two great woods. From one of these the Duke dislodged the main body of the French infantry with incredible bravery, and imminent personal hazard, for we are told that several musket balls passed through his clothes, his hat, and even his wig, yet he escaped unhurt.

During these services, some coolness, of the cause of which we are uninformed, arose between Argyll and the Commander-in-chief; which had now ripened into a confirmed disgust. He returned to London in the autumn of 1710, when Marlborough's political interest was rapidly declining, and it may be easily supposed that no means were neglected by the tories to take advantage of the discord of these great men, and to secure the every way important aid of a man of Argyll's power and talents. His frank and generous nature was incapable of receiving any tincture either of the cunning or of the malignity of party, but the warmth of his temper led him to give way to their suggestions; he engaged with them, and the first public step of his opposition was to object in the House of Lords to a motion of thanks to the Duke of Marlborough. He spoke and voted for the inquiry also which

JOHN CAMPBELL, SECOND DUKE OF ARGYLL,

was instituted in this session into the conduct of the English affairs in Spain, and joined in all the censures which were passed on the at length vanquished whig administration. He was now chosen a Knight of the Garter, and, in January 1711, accepted the appointments of Ambassador extraordinary to King Charles the Third of Spain, and Commander-in-chief of the English forces in that country ; and, taking Holland on his way thither, had an opportunity, which his high spirit should have forbade, of personally affronting Marlborough, who was then at the Hague, by singling him out from the eminent public men in that city for the denial of the compliment of a visit. On his arrival at Barcelona he found the army ill-paid, ill-provisioned, and altogether in disorder, and unfit for service. He remonstrated again and again in vain to the ministers at home, and, having pressed as ineffectually for remittances, at length borrowed money on his own security, to save the troops from actual famine. The anger and chagrin caused by these disappointments ended in a violent fever, soon after his recovery from which, finding himself wholly unable to prosecute any active operations, he returned to England, after a short stay at Minorca, of which island he had been lately appointed governor.

Upon his arrival he was complimented with the appointments of Commander-in-chief of the Queen's troops in Scotland, and Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh ; but he had returned full of a resentment against the ministers which far greater concessions on their parts could not have appeased. On the meeting of Parliament he appeared among the most determined of their opponents. He arraigned their conduct in the peace of Utrecht ; joined warmly in supporting a resolution proposed in the House of Peers to declare the protestant succession to be in danger while the government remained in their hands ; charged them with a traitorous correspondence with the exiled royal family ; and argued, even with vehemence, for a motion made in 1713 by the Earl of Seafield for the dissolution of the Union, which he himself a very few years before had so earnestly laboured to accomplish.

AND DUKE OF GREENWICH.

He endeavoured on this occasion to avoid the charge of inconsistency by professing that as his main motive for favouring it was to secure the succession to the House of Hanover, so, that being now firmly established by other and better means, it would be wise to abrogate a system which, among a multitude of evils, involved no other benefit. The temperate and cautious Harley, though at this time tottering, was at length excited to anger; and, on the fourth of March 1714, the Duke was deprived of his regiment of Scottish Horse Guards, and of his governments of Edinburgh and Minorca.

With a more becoming dignity, he suddenly presented himself, in company with the Duke of Somerset, to the Privy Council, in the last hours of the life of Anne, and moved that all the members of that august body, without distinction of party, should be instantly summoned to attend. It was a critical moment, for so nicely balanced at that period throughout the country were the friends of the rival royal Houses, that there is nothing extravagant in supposing that the happy event which followed might possibly have arisen from this firm and timely interference. The Queen expired two days after, but the friends to the Act of Settlement had now placed themselves at the Council Table, and an order was issued for the instant proclamation of King George the First, who had already included in an instrument which he despatched from Hanover the name of the Duke of Argyll, to be added to those on whom, in right of their offices, the executive government devolved, with the style of Lords Justices, during the King's absence. On the twentieth of September, 1714, he was nominated a Commissioner for settling the Household of the Prince of Wales, to whom he was made Groom of the Stole; on the twenty-seventh was restored to his station, at that moment of the very last importance, of Commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland; and, a few days after, was sworn of the Privy Council, and re-appointed Governor of Minorca. On the fifteenth of June, in the succeeding year, he received the commission of Colonel of the royal regiment of Horse-guards in England.

JOHN CAMPBELL, SECOND DUKE OF ARGYLL,

The feeble rebellion of 1715 immediately followed, and the Duke, hastening to oppose it, arrived at Edinburgh in the last week of October. He found the King's affairs in confusion, and the people panic-struck. The regular troops there consisted but of two thousand men, and it was with difficulty that he could speedily add to them fifteen hundred by a new levy. With this very inferior force he attacked, at Dumblain, on the thirteenth of November 1715, the rebel army, under the Earl of Mar, amounting to nine thousand, and compelled it to quit the field, with considerable loss. This event, though some circumstances of the action gave the Scots a pretence to call it a drawn battle, considerably broke their spirits. An accident indeed had nearly given them the victory, for the Duke, with an imprudent valour, had once charged so far into their ranks that it was with the greatest difficulty he escaped falling into their hands. They faced him no more in the field. He was soon after sufficiently reinforced, and, having driven them from Perth, the only important stronghold possessed by them, at length completely dispersed them, while their unhappy Prince, who had commanded them in person, precipitately embarked for France.

Having received all marks of the highest gratitude in Scotland, he returned to London early in the following spring, and was greeted by the King with the most distinguished cordiality and approbation ; yet, before many weeks had passed, he was suddenly dispossessed of all his employments. It is strange that we can find no sufficient reason given for this singular change, so immediately following the performance of eminent services. It was rumoured that it arose from the King's jealousy of his growing favour with the Prince of Wales, but those who have spoken of it seem to have been even ignorant whether he had given or received offence ; whether he resigned, or was dismissed ; and yet there must have been some more than ordinarily serious cause, since his brother, the Earl of Islay, at the same time relinquished certain high offices which he held in Scotland. Whatever it might have been, Argyll now again engaged in a strenuous opposition to all

AND DUKE OF GREENWICH.

the measures of government ; and we find him, of whom it might be almost said that he was born a soldier, declaiming in Parliament against the mutiny bill, and the terrors of a standing army. This disposition subsisted till the winter of 1719, when on the sixth of February, N. S. he accepted the appointment of Lord Steward of the Household, and on the thirtieth of the succeeding April was advanced in the English Peerage to the dignity of Duke of Greenwich. He now again stood forth a declared friend to the government ; opposed a bill for securing the freedom of elections to the lower House of Parliament ; voted for the temporary suspension of the Habeas Corpus act ; and impaired his reputation for consistency by defending a mutiny bill, and speaking of a standing army at least with complacency : Thus may the loftiest native independence bend insensibly to the rule of political example, and the meanness of party spirit.

In June, 1725, he resigned his office of Lord Steward, and was appointed Master General of the Ordnance : in January, 1731, received the command of that which was called the Queen's own regiment of Horse ; and was soon after made Governor of Portsmouth. On the fourteenth of January, 1736, N. S. he was constituted Field Marshal of all the King's forces. He had now continued for nearly fifteen years a steady supporter in Parliament of the measures of the Court, when in 1739 he again suddenly abandoned it, and devoted all the vigour of his mind, and his not less powerful eloquence, to the arraignment of the measures of the government. He was now once more deprived of all his offices, civil and military ; but, on the removal of Sir Robert Walpole in 1741, was not only restored to that of Master General of the Ordnance, and appointed to the command of the royal regiment of life guards, but elevated to the station of Commander-in-chief of the army. Within one month however he unexpectedly waited on the King with his final resignation of the whole. No satisfactory reason has been assigned for a step seemingly so capricious ; but it may perhaps be ascribed to a motive merely private and personal. He had been for some time afflicted by

JOHN CAMPBELL, SECOND DUKE OF ARGYLL, &c.

paralytic affections, which, as his years increased, had become more frequent, and more violent; and it is probable that some attack of this infirmity sterner than usual had warned him to retire from the high trusts which had been committed to him while he possessed capacity to execute them, rather than incur the censure of having held them till the decay of that ability should have become evident to the world.

John, Duke of Argyll, whose private life was adorned by almost all the most estimable moral qualities, died on the third of September, 1743, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. By his first lady, Mary, daughter of John Brown, and niece to the wealthy Alderman Sir Charles Duncombe, he had no issue. His second, Jane, daughter of Thomas Warburton, of Winnington, in Cheshire, brought him five daughters; Caroline, married first to Francis Scot, Earl of Dalkeith, secondly to the right honourable Charles Townshend, second son of Charles, third Viscount Townshend; Anne, to William Wentworth, fourth Earl of Strafford; Jane, who died young and unmarried; Betty, wife of the right honourable John Stuart Mackenzie, second son of James Stuart, second Earl of Bute; and Mary, married to Edward, Viscount Coke, eldest son of Thomas Coke, first and last Earl of Leicester of his family. The Duke thus dying without male issue, his English titles of peerage became extinct, but his Scottish honours devolved on his brother, Archibald, Earl of Islay.

SARAH JENNINGS,

DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

THIS remarkable lady, who, without the aid of great talents, and with the positive disadvantage of a most irregular temper, possessed for many years a considerable share of public influence, was the second of the three daughters and coheirs of Richard Jennings, of Sandbridge, in the county of Hertford, a gentleman of respectable family, by Frances, daughter and heir of a Mr Thornhurst of Kent. The two elder sisters, in acknowledgment, as it is said, of some loyal services and losses by their father, were received at a very early age, Sarah being then only twelve years old, into the household of Mary, Duchess of York. Here she was chosen for the peculiar attendant on the Princess Anne, James's younger daughter, who was nearly of the same age; and here, three or four years after, she gained the heart of the gallant and accomplished Churchill, then a colonel in the army, and a gentleman of the bedchamber to the Duke, by whom he was already much esteemed and trusted. She became his wife in the spring of the year 1678.

While Churchill gradually acquired the confidence and the favour of James, his lady rose more rapidly in the affections of the young Princess. Anne was mild, sincere, humble, timid, and abounding in that sort of general reserve which is almost characteristic of a heart susceptible of the tenderest friendship; the powers of her mind were very limited, and to her earnest desire to be beloved was probably added a consciousness that she needed

an adviser: with these qualities she possessed another by no means inconsistent with any of them—a spirit of perseverance, when she had once resolved, so firm as perhaps to merit the harsher appellation of obstinacy. Mrs. Churchill, with a character almost wholly opposite, was yet well qualified to live easily with such a person. She too was kind and sincere, but her kindness was generally grounded in pity, and her sincerity in disdain: she had however a heart strictly honest, and was neither cruel nor unjust, even amidst her highest resentments. Incapable of useful deliberation, she possessed a sagacity which seldom erred, and joined to a clear conception of characters and manners a never failing vivacity in the unreserved communication of her opinions. Between such a Princess, anxious to descend to the familiarities of private life, and such a servant, in whom the hatred of superiority was even an instinct, an union of some duration might perhaps be fairly expected.

In 1683 her husband was advanced to the Scottish peerage, by the title of Lord Churchill; and in the same year, when a more extended household was allotted to the Princess on her marriage to the Prince of Denmark, she was appointed, at Anne's special request to her father, a lady of her bedchamber, and was soon after placed at the head of that department. In a letter to her, written just at that period, the Princess says—"let me beg of you not to call me 'your Highness' at every word, but be as free with me as one friend ought to be with another; and you can never give me any greater proof of your friendship than in telling me your mind freely in all things, which I do beg you to do." Not satisfied with such minor condescensions, and solicitous to indulge to the utmost in the illusion of equality, she shortly after proposed that they should correspond in the feigned names of private persons, and in all their secret intercourse for many subsequent years they used the designations of Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman, Lady Churchill, to whom the Princess had given the option, having chosen the latter.

James now succeeded to the throne, and it is almost needless

DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

to say that in his anxiety to gain proselytes to the Romish faith he did not overlook his daughter. Lady Churchill, zealous in all that she professed or practised, was a zealous protestant and whig, and strengthened with all her influence Anne's inclination to resist. Doubtless too she assisted in inducing the Princess to desert her father, on the landing of the Prince of Orange, and she was the companion of her flight, the method of which she had previously planned in concert with the Bishop of London. Neither were her persuasions wanting to obtain the Princess's consent to the settlement of the crown on William for his life. Such praise or blame, however, as she incurred in matters involved in that revolution might probably be more justly due to her husband, whose activity in it, against the interest of his royal master and patron, has been abundantly and justly censured. William, on obtaining the throne, rewarded him with an earldom, and she now became Countess of Marlborough.

The new king, whose doubtful title Anne had thus contributed to strengthen by ceding her birthright in his favour, began his reign by quarrelling with her on the amount of the revenue to be settled on her, in which he was heartily joined by the Queen, her sister. Anne, supported by the tories, threw herself on the Parliament, and carried her point, chiefly through the management of Marlborough and his lady, to the mortal offence both of the King and Queen. Marlborough, against whom there were other causes for resentment, was now discharged from his appointments; and the Princess, having refused to obey a stern mandate, by which the Queen required her to dismiss his lady, received presently a second, to prohibit the residence of the Countess at the Cockpit, where Anne had long lived, and which she now instantly quitted, with her friend, for a borrowed house. The most furious anger ensued on both sides, and was as usual vented in unbecoming and vulgar expressions. William, in the private conversations of Anne and Lady Marlborough, was usually called "Caliban, the Dutch abortion," and "the Monster," and his favourite countryman, the Earl of Portland, was complimented

with the name of "Wooden-head." These disgraceful broils were terminated by the unexpected death of the Queen in 1694, soon after which Marlborough was restored to the King's good graces, and the persecution of the Countess ceased, but her hatred to William remained unaltered till his death.

On the accession of her mistress to the throne she burst forth a politician. The love of rule was her darling passion, and she seems to have applied it to the affairs of a kingdom with as little hesitation as to the intrigues of a royal household. Her party predilections were diametrically opposed to those of the Queen, as well as to those professed by her Lord, who acted with the tories. "I resolved," says she, in the 'Account of her own Conduct,' which she published in the latter years of her life, "from the very beginning of the Queen's reign, to try whether I could not by degrees make impressions on her mind more favourable to the whigs;" and Anne, in a letter to her of the same period, writes—"I am very glad to find by my dear M^{rs}. Freeman's that I was blest with yesterday, that she liked my speech; but I cannot help being extremely concerned you are so partial to the whigs, because I would not have you and your poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley differ in opinion on the least thing; and, upon my word, my dear M^{rs}. Freeman, you are mightily mistaken in your notion of a true whig," &c. Each however remained stedfast in her opinion, as well as in the means severally used by them to conquer each other's prejudices. While Lady Marlborough besieged by regular and open approaches, the Queen sought to gain her by bribery. She was placed in the great courtly offices of Groom of the Stole, Mistress of the Robes, and Keeper of the Privy Purse; two of her daughters were made Ladies of the Bed-chamber; and Lord Godolphin, whose heir was married to the elder of them, was appointed Lord Treasurer. Even the vast favours lavished at the same time on Lord Marlborough, may be in some measure traced to the same motive. To so ridiculous a length did Anne carry this system of conciliation, that when she had resolved, on the termination of his first campaign, to raise

him prematurely, for so it was, to the first dignity that an English subject can hold, she gave notice of it to his lady in these terms —“ It is very uneasy to your poor unfortunate faithful Morley to think that she has so little in her power to shew how truly sensible I am of all my Lord Marlborough’s kindness, especially at a time when he deserves all that a rich crown could give ; but since there is nothing else at this time, I hope you will give me leave as soon as he comes to make him a Duke.” The Countess objected to this proposal, and stated her reasons with equal good sense and sincerity, but at length submitted.

The Queen had commenced her reign with a tory administration. The Duchess, after passing two years in incessant efforts to undermine it, and in endeavouring to persuade Anne to replace it wholly from the opposite party, was obliged to content herself with half a triumph. The Queen, worn out by her importunities, and sheltering herself under the advice, or rather compliance, of Marlborough and Godolphin, who were in a great measure ruled by the same influence, consented to a sort of compromise, and several of the whig leaders were admitted into office : among these, the Queen hesitated long on the appointment of the Earl of Sunderland to the office of Secretary of State. He was perhaps the most determined member of his party ; his manners were repulsive, and his temper was ungovernable ; but he was the husband of one of the Duchess’s daughters. Marlborough himself faintly opposed his advancement to the post ; the Queen besought with fond and querulous intreaties, but at length gave way ; and the Duchess, in gaining this point, seems to have lost irrevocably her mistress’s affection. It had been long failing, but so inveterate was the habit of controul on the one side, and compliance on the other, that the parties themselves were perhaps insensible of its decay. The Duchess’s letters to her, however, which had been for some time gradually assuming a tone of formality, became on this occasion frequently rude and scornful not only in their sense, but in their very terms of expression. Anne seems not to have recollected that she was a Queen till the Duchess had wholly forgotten herself to be a subject.

It is doubtful whether her Majesty, even under this extremity of oppression, could have found sufficient strength of mind to set herself at liberty by her own efforts, but encouragement is always at hand to Princes who wish to dispose of favourites. The Duchess had placed in the royal household, some years before, a first-cousin of the name of Hill, the daughter of a broken merchant, and the insignificant office held by this lady gave her frequent access to the Queen's person. Anne, to whom custom as well as nature had rendered a familiar companion necessary, presently distinguished her from her other attendants of the same rank; sought consolation in her society after the storms to which the intemperance of the Duchess now so frequently exposed her, and insensibly became attached to her. She was at length married, with the greatest privacy, to Mr., afterwards Lord, Masham, in the presence of the Queen, who gave her a portion, and the discovery of these facts by the Duchess, which was long in reaching her, was accompanied by the fearful intelligence that Mrs. Masham had become the medium of secret communication between the Queen and the most dangerous political enemies of Marlborough and herself. She now besieged Anne with new remonstrances and reproaches, which were heard with patience, and for some time answered by faint professions of kindness; but the Queen had formed her determination, and, after several months had been passed in unceasing endeavours to effect even the decent appearances of reconciliation, as well by the Duke as by his lady, she parted finally with Anne on the sixth of April, 1710, after a long conversation little remarkable but for the taciturn coldness of the one, and the angry volubility of the other.

The conduct of the Duchess after this interview disappointed the expectations of her friends, and gratified the malice of her enemies. She left no means untried to retain her offices. She even condescended to the baseness of indirectly menacing the Queen with a publication of all their correspondence, and the expedient for a while succeeded. She prevailed on Marlborough

DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

to return from the Continent, and to solicit for her, as he did, almost abjectly, at more than one audience. Anne however was inexorable; yet the Duchess delayed her resignation even to the hour in which she was conscious that it would be forced from her. She resigned; and having passed this bitter point, abandoned herself to all the extravagances of childish resentment, such as tearing down chimney-pieces, locks, and other small matters, which had been put up at her expense in her official apartments in St. James's Palace; while Anne, as though to emulate this mean and spiteful absurdity, threatened, through her Secretary of State, alluding to the mansion of Blenheim, that "she would build no house for the Duke of Marlborough when the Duchess had pulled hers to pieces." Anger is the only passion the excesses of which high breeding cannot in some degree refine, or at least disguise.

She retired into the country, overwhelmed with discontent, and assailed by innumerable libels, and remained there in seclusion till the following year, when the Duke, discharged from his employments, went to Germany, whither she presently followed him and returned with him after the death of the Queen. In spite of disappointments, loss of power, and increasing years, she now relapsed into party politics, and private resentments; taxed her lord with inactivity when he had become incapable of exertion; quarrelled, individually and collectively, with a ministry which had been formed by her son-in-law, Sunderland, and most bitterly with himself; was accused by him, in return, of secret correspondence with the Pretender, and driven to court humbly the good graces of the Duchess of Kendal, the royal mistress, to obtain the means of justifying herself to George the First; and finally, became the implacable, however impotent, enemy to the family and interests of that Prince, because he forbore in his civil answer to her representations implicitly to acquit her, when he had not in fact the means of knowing whether she was innocent or guilty. The restless violence of temper which had plunged her into these difficulties vented itself in her old age on her own

SARAH JENNINGS, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

family, with almost every member of which she was on ill terms, and with more than one engaged in law-suits.

The Duchess of Marlborough survived her celebrated Lord for more than twenty years. She was solicited in marriage, when past her grand climacteric, by the Duke of Somerset, and Lord Coningsby, and her answer to the former is yet extant. After excusing herself on the score of her age, she concludes by declaring that, "were she only thirty years old, she would not permit the Emperor of the world to succeed in that heart which had been devoted to John Duke of Marlborough;"—and surely gratitude as well as pride demanded of her this tribute to his memory, for to the last he loved her with the most exquisite tenderness. She died on the eighteenth of October 1744, at the age of eighty-four.



Engraved by H. H. Johnson

JAMES BUTLER, SECOND DUKE OF ORMOND.

OB. 1745.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF
HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

JAMES BUTLER,

SECOND DUKE OF ORMOND,

WAS the only surviving son of that model of almost universal perfection, Thomas, Earl of Ossory, and grandson and heir to the scarcely less worthy James, on whom the Dukedom was conferred immediately after the Restoration. His mother was Amelia Nassau, daughter of Louis van Beverwaert, a natural son of the celebrated Maurice, Prince of Orange, and he was born in the Castle of Dublin, during the Viceroyalty in Ireland of his grandfather, on the twenty-ninth of April, 1665.

Of the commencement of his education we are uninformed, but it was concluded at Christchurch, in the university of Oxford, of which the Duke, his grandfather, had been for many years Chancellor, a circumstance which will amply account for his being complimented there with the degree of a Master of Arts at the early age of fifteen. His father had died very suddenly, of an acute illness, just five weeks before his election, which was on the sixth of September, 1680, and he was summoned immediately after to Ireland by the old Duke, with whom he remained for more than three years, and left him in April, 1684, to serve as a volunteer at the siege of Luxembourg, which was then invested by the French. This military expedition occupied him till the following July, in the end of which month he returned; received a commission of Colonel of a regiment of Horse in Ireland; and, in the spring of the succeeding year, came to London, and was appointed a Lord of the King's Bedchamber, then bearing the

title of Earl of Ossory. The wild insurrection of the Duke of Monmouth occurring presently after, he was despatched into the west, and was present, with what command does not appear, on the sixth of July, in the decisive battle of Sedgemoor.

His grandfather, to whose high honours and great estates he succeeded, died on the twenty-first of July, 1688, and, before the close of the month, such was the respect of that learned body for his name and blood, he was elected, in the place of the late Duke, Chancellor of the University of Oxford. He joined heartily in the disapprobation excited by the weak and extravagant measures of this short reign, and signed, with several other spiritual and temporal Peers, that remarkable petition of the seventeenth of November, 1688, in which the consequences of those errors, and their remedies, were so clearly and so respectfully pointed out; and, on the refusal of the King to listen to those arguments, was among the first of the nobility to leave the Court, and, in company with Prince George of Denmark, presented himself to the Prince of Orange, at Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, immediately after his landing. Among the last acts of James's short-lived rule in Ireland was the seizure of the Duke's vast estates there, and the exception of him from the general pardon offered. He was at the same time attainted by the Irish Parliament.

The severity of these attacks was softened by William's distinguished favour. On the fourteenth of February, the very day after the proclamation of his accession to the Throne, he appointed Ormond a Lord of his Bedchamber, and Colonel of the second troop of Horse Guards; and, in the following April, gave him the Garter, and nominated him High Constable of England for the solemnity of the Coronation. He became in some measure a personal favourite, and his qualifications for a soldier were soon so evident to William's military acuteness, that in 1689 he was intrusted with the command of the English cavalry in the Netherlands, and served there in that character during the campaign with ample credit, as may be clearly inferred from the fact that in the following year he was chosen by the King, as a companion in his

SECOND DUKE OF ORMOND.

warlike and momentous expedition to Ireland, and fought under his eye in the battle of the Boyne, from which he marched, with a strong body of Horse, and took possession of the cities of Dublin and Kilkenny. He remained in Ireland till the end of the war there, and soon after attended William to the army in Flanders, where he had his full share of service in all important affairs of the campaign of 1693, and was peculiarly distinguished at the adverse battle of Landen, in which, gallantly charging the enemy at the head of a strong squadron of Horse, he had his horse shot under him, received several severe wounds, and was saved from death by an officer of the French Guard, who seized the arm of a soldier which was raised to stab him. He was carried to Namur, where the first thought that occurred to him was to put a large sum into the hands of Count Guiscard, the Governor, to be distributed among his fellow prisoners; and, being permitted to go to London on his parole, was soon after exchanged for the Duke of Berwick, who had been captured by the English in the same action.

Queen Anne pursuing the war against France and Spain, which had been rather suspended than concluded by the peace of Ryswick, an expedition was despatched against Cadiz in the first year of her reign. In the month of June the Duke embarked, with ten thousand men, on board a fleet commanded by Sir George Rooke, which sailed directly thither. The attack on Cadiz failed, but, on their return to England, they learned that the Spanish Plate Fleet, with a strong convoy of French ships of war, were in the bay of Vigo; Rooke returned thither; and the famous service of breaking the boom ensued; the Duke then landed, with his troops, and, after seizing several forts on the coast, advanced into the country, and stormed the town of Ridondella, while Rooke, whose conduct, by the way, incurred much blame, possessed himself of the fleet. Vast treasure, however, fell into the hands of the General, as well as of the Admiral, and they received on their return, together with the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, the most extravagant gratulations from the people. In the course of this year the Duke was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the county

JAMES BUTLER.

of Somerset, and on the fourth of February, in the next, was nominated to succeed the Earl of Rochester as Governor-general of Ireland, in which exalted office he remained till 1706, delighting the people not less by the unexampled splendour of his Court than by the mildness and beneficence of his rule. In 1707 he became Colonel of the third troop of Horse Guards ; on the nineteenth of October, 1710, was again declared Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on the recal from thence of the Lord Wharton ; on the first of January, 1712, N. S., was made Colonel of the first regiment of Foot Guards ; and on the twenty-sixth of the succeeding month Commander in Chief of the army, upon the dismissal of the Duke of Marlborough.

In that exalted character he set out for Flanders in the spring of 1712, to direct and superintend the operations of the allied armies, in concert with Prince Eugene. On the twenty-third of April he arrived at the Hague, with instructions to inform the Grand Pensionary that the Queen was resolved to prosecute the war with all vigour, and afterwards to settle with the Prince, "and such other generals as were in the secret, the proper measures for entering on action." The "secret" was a sort of half-engagement to Louis the Fourteenth to forbear, as much as possible, all offensive operations against him, on certain conditions as loosely agreed to on his part. The allied armies however marched towards the head of the Scheldt, where the French lay, as to attack them, when on the twenty-fourth of May, Ormond received a letter from Secretary St. John, conveying "the Queen's positive command that he should avoid engaging in any siege, or hazarding any battle, till further orders ;" and entered immediately after into a private and confidential correspondence with Marechal Villars, who commanded the French. In the mean time, these matters coming imperfectly to the knowledge of the States, they complained heavily that we had betrayed them, and Prince Eugene, on the part of the Austrians, however far he might have been originally admitted into the "secret," seemed little less dissatisfied ; while Ormond, whose dignity, both as a nobleman and a

SECOND DUKE OF ORMOND.

general, had been grossly insulted by these orders, could not conceal his chagrin, though he persisted, from public motives, in retaining his command. They were at length taken up at home by the opponents of the ministry, and canvassed with great severity in Parliament, after which Ormond was allowed to join Prince Eugene in besieging Quesnoy, but, when that place was on the point of capitulating, he informed the Prince that he had received orders to proclaim a cessation of arms for two months. The Generals now parted in mutual disgust, and the Duke, having received permission to return, accompanied by the strongest declaration of the Queen's entire approbation of his conduct, on the first of November landed in England. On the twenty-sixth of June, he was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Governor of Dover Castle.

Anne survived this period barely for one year, and, immediately after her death, on the first of August, 1714, Ormond was among the foremost to sign the proclamation of the succession of George the First to the throne, and to meet him on his landing at Greenwich, where that Prince received him without any indication of distaste, as he did again a few days after, on the Duke's presenting at St. James's, in his character of Chancellor, the address of the University of Oxford; but on the eighteenth of September, the Viscount Townshend, one of the Secretaries of State, waited on him to inform him that the King had no further occasion for his services in the capacity of Commander in Chief, but would always be glad to see him at Court. He now retired into privacy till the meeting of Parliament in 1715, when, to the utter astonishment of all people, on the twenty-first of June, he was impeached of high treason in the House of Commons by Mr. Secretary Stanhope, and the House resolving to that effect, Ormond, warned by the fury with which the new Whig ministry were then prosecuting Oxford and Bolingbroke, and in compliance, as has been said, with the earnest advice of Bishop Atterbury, passed over privately, on the eighth of August, into France, and on the twentieth of that month was attainted; his estates forfeited;

his honours extinguished ; and a reward of ten thousand pounds offered for his apprehension. Such were the terrible penalties inflicted on him for having executed orders which he would probably have been charged with high treason for disobeying. On his arrival in France, he immediately threw himself into the arms of the great person who was then called the Pretender, to whose interests he had probably, in common with several others of Anne's faithful servants, and perhaps with her knowledge, been long somewhat favourable, and to whom he now became sincerely attached. Of his transactions in the affairs of that person some account may be found, too long, and perhaps too unimportant, to be here given, in Lord Bolingbroke's "Letter to Sir William Wyndham." Of his story, after his flight from England, nothing more I believe is to be found, except that he finally settled at Avignon, where he lived for many years, on a pension of two thousand pistoles from the King of Spain, and died, at the age of eighty-one, on the sixteenth of November, 1745, when his body was brought to England, and deposited in his family vault in Henry the Seventh's chapel, in Westminster Abbey.

Macky, in his "Characters of the Court of Great Britain," written when the Duke was in the prime of life, says of him—"He governs in Ireland with more affection from the people, and his court is in the greatest splendour ever known in that country. He certainly is one of the most generous, princely, brave men that ever was, but good-natured to a fault ; loves glory, and consequently is crowded with flatterers ; never knew how to refuse any body, which was the reason why he obtained so little from King William, asking for every body. He hath all the qualities of a great man, except one of a statesman, hating business ; loving, and is beloved by, the ladies ; of a low stature, but well shaped ; a good mien and address ; a fair complexion, and very beautiful face. He is about forty years old."

Swift, writing almost in the hour of his prosecution, gives his character at greater length, and with a more manly seriousness :—"The attainder," says he, "of the Duke of Ormond neither I, nor

SECOND DUKE OF ORMOND.

I believe any one person in the three kingdoms, did ever pretend to foresee ; and, now it is done, it looks like a dream to those who will consider the nobleness of his birth ; the great merits of his ancestors and his own ; his long unspotted loyalty ; his affability, generosity, and sweetness of nature. I knew him long and well ; and, excepting the frailties of his youth, which had been for some time over, and that easiness of temper, which did sometimes lead him to follow the judgment of those who had, by many degrees, less understanding than himself, I have not conversed with a more faultless person : of great justice and charity ; a true sense of religion, without ostentation ; of undoubted valour ; thoroughly skilled in his trade of a soldier ; a quick and ready apprehension, with a good share of understanding, and a general knowledge of men and history, although under some disadvantage by an invincible modesty, which however could not but render him yet more amiable to those who had the honour and happiness of being thoroughly acquainted with him. This is a short imperfect character of that great person, the Duke of Ormond, who is now attainted for high treason, and therefore I shall not presume to offer one syllable in his vindication upon that head, against the decision of a Parliament. Yet this I think may be allowed me to believe, or at least to hope—that when, by the direct and repeated commands of the Queen, his mistress, he committed those faults for which he hath now forfeited his country, his titles, and his fortune, he no more conceived himself to be acting high treason than he did when he was wounded, and a prisoner at Landen, for his Sovereign, King William, or when he took and burned the enemy's fleet at Vigo."

The Duke of Ormond married, first, Anne, eldest daughter of Laurence Hyde, first Earl of Rochester of his family, who died young, and childless ; secondly, Mary, eldest surviving daughter of Henry Somerset, first Duke of Beaufort, by whom he had an only son, Thomas, who died in infancy ; as did three daughters, Mary, Emilia, and Henrietta ; another Mary, who was married to John, first Lord Ashburnham ; and Elizabeth, who died a spinster in 1750.



Engraved by H. Robinson.

ROBERT WALPOLE, EARL OF ORFORD.

OB. 1746.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JARVIS IN THE COLLECTION OF

THOMAS WALPOLE ESQ^{RE}

ROBERT WALPOLE.

FIRST EARL OF ORFORD.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, perhaps the most able and honest, and certainly one of the most consistent, statesmen of his time, sprung from a long line of powerful and wealthy ancestors who had been for many centuries seated at Houghton, in the county of Norfolk, where he was born on the twenty-sixth of August, 1676, the third son of Robert Walpole, of that place, by Mary, only daughter and heir of Sir Geoffrey Burwell, of Rougham, in Suffolk.

Neither the circumstances of his family, respectable as they were, nor his own position in it, at the time of his birth, afforded any prospect of his attaining to the important and dignified station which awaited him, for he was the third son among nineteen children. He was designed therefore for the profession of the law, and received such an education, first at Eton, and afterwards at King's College, in Cambridge, where he was admitted a scholar in 1696, as was thought fit to qualify him for it: his two elder brothers however, dying in their youth within two years after, he became heir apparent to his father, on whose death, in the year 1700, he succeeded to the family estates, estimated at two thousand pounds annually, as well as to the representation of the borough of Castlerising, in his native county, for which his father had sat in Parliament for several years, ending at his decease. He married too, a few months after, a wealthy city heiress; and now, finding himself at a very early age in a state of the most ample independence, it remained only for him to determine on his future course. The choice was readily made. He already possessed all that is

usually esteemed valuable in human life, except fame, and for that a very short experience in Parliament excited in him an eager appetite. He presently resolved to devote himself to public business, for which indeed he is said to have evinced, at a very early age, a remarkable inclination and aptitude.

During the two sessions which next followed his election we hear little of him beyond that he applied himself constantly to the ordinary business of the House, especially on all matters that related to the affairs of his own county. That he was diligent however appears certain from the fact that he was often appointed a teller on important occasions, particularly on the divisions connected with the impeachment of Lord Somers; but he had hitherto given no indication of the faculties which afterwards so eminently distinguished him. St. John, not yet raised to the Peerage, who had been his rival at school, had long engrossed the admiration of the House by his brilliant talents, and captivating powers of oratory; and Walpole, anxious to emulate his success, determined to attempt a competition, but the first essay made by him produced a failure so lamentable as to create a general impression among his friends that he would never gain the attention of Parliament. The ascendancy of the whig party, to which he had from the beginning attached himself, having been established in the latter years of William's reign, that of Queen Anne opened under their direct influence, and Walpole suddenly and unexpectedly became important to them. Little discouraged by the ill success of his first attempts, he now became a frequent debater; soon gained that facility of speaking for which he afterwards became remarkable; and, no longer aiming at decorative eloquence, presently commanded the respect of his auditors by the force of his arguments, and the manly simplicity of expression in which he couched them.

In 1705 he was appointed one of the Council to Prince George of Denmark, for his office of Lord High Admiral. Some gross abuses in the management of the navy had provoked very general dissatisfaction, and the whigs were among the loudest in their complaints of its mal-administration. The task of defending the ministry against any imputations on this score was put on Walpole,

FIRST EARL OF ORFORD

and, although the execution of it was necessarily opposed to the great body of the party with which he had acted, he acquitted himself with a boldness, and even vehemence, which recommended him powerfully to the favour of the government, and with a dexterity which in a great measure disarmed the resentment of his party. A more difficult office awaited him—that of endeavouring to reconcile the treasurer Godolphin to the whigs, whom he hated, and by whom he was distrusted. It was entirely through his efforts that a concord so desirable was accomplished, and for this, and other services and kindnesses, as well in private as in public life, Godolphin entertained a gratitude which ended only with his life, for in his last hours he earnestly recommended Walpole to the protection and patronage of the favourite Duchess of Marlborough. In 1708, he succeeded St. John in the office of Secretary at War, and, in the following year, was appointed Treasurer of the Navy. He defended the Duke of Marlborough with great ability and zeal against the charges of the Earl of Peterborough, and in the ill-advised impeachment of Sacheverell acted as one of the managers for the Commons.

The intrigues of Harley, and his instrument, Mrs. Masham, who had now supplanted the Duchess of Marlborough in the Queen's favour, aided by the dissension and want of confidence which prevailed amongst the chief members of the government, effected that which could have been accomplished by scarcely any other means: the whig administration was overthrown, and Walpole retired from office somewhat later than his colleagues, and not until Harley had found him proof equally against his offers and his threats. He then threw himself openly into the ranks of the opposition, and by his able and animated defence of his friend Godolphin, as well in the House of Commons, in reply to St. John's charges on the displaced Treasurer of mal-administration of the finances, as by a most powerful pamphlet to the same effect, proved himself so formidable an antagonist to the party then in office that they resolved, since they could not purchase his silence, to strive to destroy his reputation. He was accused of venality and corruption in his character of Secretary

at War in the management of certain forage contracts. On the seventeenth of January, 1711, he was heard in his defence, and, after a long and warm debate in which his enemies exerted all their talents and influence against him, it was resolved by small majorities that he should be expelled, and committed to the Tower of London. On the following morning he surrendered himself, and was sent to the Tower, where he remained till the eighth of the following July.

His constitutional intrepidity, a conviction that he had been unjustly persecuted, and, more perhaps than all, a confident belief that the discordant elements of the existing administration could not long hold together, kept up his spirits under his imprisonment; while the countenance and congratulations of his friends gave an air of triumph to that which had been contrived for his disgrace and ruin. He was immediately returned for Lynn, which he had represented in the preceding Parliament, but the House of Commons resolved that his expulsion had rendered him ineligible. His restraint was of short duration, for the Parliament was dissolved in the following August. His time had been fully employed in the interval: he had now engaged so deeply in politics, and had imbibed so strong a relish for the excitement which belongs to them, that neither danger nor disappointment could check him in the pursuit. While in the Tower he had published a satisfactory justification of himself, and he now engaged with Sir Richard Steele in the composition of several political pamphlets for the purpose of repelling some of the misrepresentations of the party in power, and of rousing the public feeling against them. The most powerful of these was entitled "A short History of the Parliament"—a piece full of danger to the writer; and indeed, as Walpole himself said on a subsequent occasion, "the author of that history was so apprehensive of the consequences of printing it that the press was carried to his own house, and the copies printed there."

He was again returned for Lynn, in the Parliament which met in February, 1714, and, by the acuteness of his mind, the vigour and boldness of his eloquence, and his extensive knowledge as well of public business as of the men by whom it was conducted, he presently became the chief leader of the opposition, and the most

formidable of the foes of the government. It was chiefly by his exertions that the whigs were kept together at a time when the success of their opponents might have daunted a less constant spirit. His courage dispelled their dejection, while his frank convivial disposition, and his profuse hospitality, even at the hazard of the ruin of his private fortune, procured him their personal regard, and with their private their political confidence. One of his happiest displays in Parliament at this period was his defence of Steele, when his pamphlets entitled "the Crisis," and "the Englishman," were voted seditious libels by the House of Commons. Walpole's speech on that occasion is an admirable exhibition of the decorous whig principles of his time.

The death of Queen Anne brought about the extinction of that power which the tories had almost absolutely possessed during the last four years of her reign. On the accession of George the First, the exertions of the friends to the Protestant succession, in which no man had taken a more decided and active part than Walpole, were without delay acknowledged and rewarded by the new King. All the offices of the government were divided among them, and, though some held a higher rank, the power of none was greater than that of Walpole, and Lord Townshend, Secretary of State, who was not only his relation in blood, but had married his sister. He was appointed Paymaster of the Navy immediately on the King's arrival, and soon after appeared in the station of ministerial leader in the House of Commons, which indeed no one but himself was then qualified to fill. In that character he carried on the prosecutions of the Lords Oxford and Bolingbroke, and the Duke of Ormond, with great ability, and with an earnestness which savoured perhaps as much of a pardonable personal vengeance as of indignation at the faults and errors of which the late ministry was accused. The times indeed required all the energy, as well as all the talent, of a mind like his to steer the vessel of the state through the dangers by which it was surrounded. The dissatisfaction of the Tory and Jacobite parties, the hostile influence of France, the appearance in England of the son of

James the Second, and the rebellion which ensued in Scotland upon that event, called for the most bold and decisive measures here, and the call was not less wisely than promptly met by Walpole. The stern inflexibility with which he insisted on the punishment of the rebel Lords has often been alleged as a charge of cruelty against him, but the circumstances of the time must be admitted to have justified, as much as they admitted of justification, the measures which were then resorted to ; and certainly cruelty was not among the faults of his nature.

The uncontrolled vigour and power with which he conducted the affairs of that eventful year were doubtless in great measure to be ascribed to his being now actually at the head of the administration. He had been, on the tenth of October, 1715, appointed first Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. This pre-eminence was however of no long duration. The absence of the King, who went to Hanover in the following summer ; the jealousies which found their way into the ministry, and presently ripened into dissensions ; and the rapacity and intrigues of what was called the German party, who considered England as a mine of wealth now first opened to them ; rendered the station at once painful and precarious. The misunderstanding which soon after arose between his Majesty and the Heir Apparent, and the management of the Earl of Sunderland, who soon after obtained the office of principal Secretary of State, and then that of first Lord of the Treasury, at length determined the power of the ministers ; and, just at the time when the able schemes of Townshend for establishing the foreign relations of the country on a secure basis were brought to their accomplishment, and when Walpole had supplied a simple and efficacious measure for restoring the finances of the country, the cabals of their enemies triumphed. Townshend was dismissed, and Walpole resigned his offices, in spite of the King's urgent, and even passionate, persuasions. The most influential members of the administration followed his example, and he once more became a member of the opposition.

The stern vehemence which he now assumed in this character ;

the undisguised contempt which he expressed of his enemies ; and, above all, his bold avowal of faults, and great ones too, with which from time to time they upbraided him ; were so many proofs of his full consciousness not only of his own powers, but of the ascendancy which they proudly held. Sunderland felt that he was sinking under it, and was compelled, in a manner, to implore his assistance. Overtures were made to him, and to Townshend, without whom he would not have engaged, and were accepted. The first merely resumed his former post of Paymaster-general of the Army. He took no active part in the affairs of the government, but retired to Houghton to recruit his health, which had suffered from his late exertions, and perhaps to arrange the steps towards another change, which it is not unlikely was already meditated by him. He was not however otherwise unemployed : in his treaty with the new ministers, Sunderland had insisted that he should abstain from all interference in the painful and unseemly difference between the King and the Prince of Wales, to whom he had in some measure engaged his services. Walpole not only steadily and honourably refused, but undisguisedly redoubled his efforts to reconcile the royal parties, and was at length completely successful. The destructive scheme which is known by the name of the South-sea Bubble was soon afterwards exposed, and brought on the country that general distress which he had truly predicted when it was first proposed. In the sudden and general dismay which now spread throughout the country the eyes of all men were turned to him, then justly acknowledged the most able master of finance that had ever appeared in public business, for some remedy for the evils which prevailed. He was hastily called to town, and, while the means he recommended fully justified the general opinion of his profound judgment, they were as much distinguished by moderation as ingenuity. He devised a plan for engrafting into the Bank and East India stocks a large portion of the debt which had been contracted by the South-sea Company ; and, having thus quieted the public mind, and staved off the difficulties which pressed upon the country, he displayed a noble

magnanimity in extricating Sunderland, and Stanhope, now at the head of the Treasury, who had been of late his most implacable foes, from the consequences into which their own imprudence, and the contrivances of the projectors of the scheme, had plunged them. His temporary retreat was distinguished too by the invention of some measures for the benefit of commerce which will ever be remembered with gratitude by those of that interest.

His popularity, before very considerable, was raised to the highest by these circumstances, and the public opinion of the Ministry had sunk in a more than equal proportion. The influence of his party in Parliament was no longer doubtful; Stanhope was saved by death from the discredit of dismissal; and, on the fourth of April, 1721, Walpole was restored to his appointments of first Commissioner of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his friend and former coadjutor, Townshend, to that of Secretary of State. His services had been so eminently advantageous to the nation, not to mention the degree of royal favour in which he personally stood, that the King now proposed to raise him to the peerage, but the incomparable dexterity with which he managed the House of Commons rendered it inexpedient that he should quit his post there in the actual state of the country; the proffered dignity was therefore conferred on his eldest son, who, on the tenth of June, 1723, was created Baron Walpole, of Walpole, in Norfolk, by a patent which, referring to the services of the father, stated that "he rather chose to merit the highest titles than to wear them." He accepted however the order of the Bath, on its revival in 1725; and, in the following year, that of the Garter, the highest honour that can be held by a Commoner, was conferred on him.

Walpole's love of peace has been, and not unjustly, identified with his very name. A favourable opportunity offering at this period of obtaining a permanency of that blessing by a treaty with France, he seems, instead of intrusting it to Townshend, in whose department it properly lay, to have taken the management of it mostly on himself, and therefore to have made his brother, Horace Walpole, the immediate instrument of the nego-

tiation. Cardinal Fleury, actuated by a policy not less pacific, heartily coincided. The progress of the treaty was marked by a candour and good faith most rare in diplomacy, and the result proved not only the sovereign efficacy of those attributes in their application to public policy, but also the incontrovertible fact that the powers of England and France, steadily and sincerely united, would ever be irresistible. It was in 1727 that the peace of Europe was thus established. The exiled and attainted Bolingbroke, who was then resident in France, and who secretly opposed, while he affected to aid in forwarding, the fruition of these great arrangements, in the hope of obtaining a complete amnesty, was now in part gratified: Walpole not only assented to but procured his qualified restoration. He determined however that this great bad man should not resume his place in the country with untarnished honour; and, by keeping the attainder still in force against him, drove him to take a part in politics after his return which effectually prevented the possibility of his ever again sharing in the councils of the government. Bolingbroke became accordingly his most implacable, and far from impotent, enemy.

Walpole was in the plenitude of his power, and royal favour, when the sudden death of George the First seemed to threaten the extinction of both. The new King had not only in a great measure withdrawn his confidence from the minister, but had transferred it to William Pulteney, who, after several years of early friendship, had conceived, from some political slights, the most bitter and lasting resentment against him, which he had gratified by introducing Bolingbroke also to the royal ear. The reception which Walpole experienced on his first appearance at Court was so mortifying as to leave scarcely a doubt that his dismissal was resolved on, and here his dexterity and prompt decision seem to have saved him from the impending danger. He was, as might be expected, speedily and accurately informed of all that occurred about the Court, and, having learned that the Queen had applied on the subject of her jointure to Sir Spencer Compton, who had promised his exertions to get it fixed at fifty or sixty thousand pounds,

ROBERT WALPOLE,

Walpole adroitly introduced the subject in an early audience, and induced her to ask his opinion as to the probable amount. He replied that, with respect to her merits, and the obligations the country owed to her, it ought to be left to her dictation; but he added that, considering the public distress, the losses which had been sustained, and the burthens caused by the late war, he feared he should be unable to obtain for her a larger annual income than one hundred thousand pounds. This well-timed suggestion had its full effect. Her Majesty's influence over the King was most extensive; and within ten days after he had been treated by that Prince with open contempt, he was re-appointed first Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

He was now in the possession of a larger share of power than any other subject in the realm. He had however to contend with an opposition formidable for its numbers, and yet more for the talent which it combined. Bolingbroke, who, as a debater or a writer, was very superior to Walpole in natural and acquired talents, gave energy and effect to the attacks which the Tories and the Jacobites, the latter consisting for the most part of country gentlemen whose influence was very considerable, directed against the ministry. Pulteney headed such of the whigs as were discontented with Walpole's recent conduct. The minister knew that such foes were neither to be contemned nor defied, and therefore, while he made head against their attacks in public, he employed arts more secret and more certain, to win over such as might be induced boldly and openly to change sides, and to neutralize others, who would not venture to brave, although they did not scruple to deserve, the public reproach for their baseness. His success in this sort of policy even surpassed his own expectation, and is said to have produced in him the opinion that public virtue was a mere pretence, and that, whatever might be sometimes the seeming firmness of the principles and conduct of men, there was a price at which almost every individual might be bought.

Thus Walpole maintained the power which he had obtained, and was enabled to realise the plans which he had devised for the

FIRST EARL OF ORFORD.

peace of the country, and the restoration of its impoverished resources. His increasing influence at length excited the jealousy of his coadjutor, Townshend. It first produced a mutual decay of confidence; frequent bickerings followed; and at length a quarrel on a point of foreign negotiation attended by disgraceful circumstances, even of personal violence, occurred in the presence of the Duke of Newcastle, and others of high rank. The story of this indecent contest got abroad, and the careless wit of Gay dramatised it with irresistible ridicule in the recriminatory scene between Peacham and Lockit, in the *Beggar's Opera*. Lord Townshend's retirement from office soon followed.

Sir Robert Walpole first devised and put into practice the scheme of a sinking fund, for the reduction of the national debt, and, as soon as it had attained to a respectable amount, yielded to the temptation which it offered, and proposed its appropriation to the service of the current year. Another, and one of the most important of his financial operations was the amendment of the excise laws, and the simplification of that material branch of the revenue. He proposed also to convert the customs into duties of excise, but the pains taken to excite the popular dislike to the measure were so successful that he was compelled to abandon it. This failure inspired his enemies with sanguine hopes of displacing him, but his genius again prevailed, and the defeat with which he had been threatened fell on his antagonists. His greatest triumph however was in the success with which he brought about the general pacification of 1733, when the elements of war surrounded him on all sides, and when the smallest departure from the strictly consistent course he had prescribed to himself, the slightest wavering of resolution, would inevitably have produced the consequences he so carefully endeavoured to avoid.

A misunderstanding now, as in the late reign, unfortunately occurred between the reigning King and the Prince of Wales, and became, as the former had been, the source of an opposition to the government. The Prince's taste led him to cultivate the acquaintance of men of parts and accomplishments, and a society

was formed of which his Royal Highness was nominally the leader, but of which the restless Bolingbroke, Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and some younger men, who afterwards attained to eminent distinction, were the active members. They were all opposed to the minister, and, by their advice and example, suggested to the Prince a line of conduct so imprudent and unbecoming, that the breach between him and the King soon assumed a serious aspect. Walpole at first endeavoured to reconcile the difference, and it was not till he had wholly failed to effect this object that he resorted to more decided measures, which secured to him the favour of the King, but involved him in the open enmity of the Prince of Wales. At the end of the year 1737 Queen Caroline, who had certainly entertained a high personal regard for Walpole, died, and from that hour the lofty state of the minister's power gradually declined.

Foreign affairs assumed soon after an aspect altogether adverse to his favourite policy. The jealousy with which Spain insisted on the exclusive advantages of the South American commerce, and the pertinacious efforts of the English traders to participate in it, gave rise to differences which soon assumed a hostile character. Some English vessels had been seized, and others plundered under the pretence of a right of search, and the severities exercised on the captains and crews raised a popular feeling against Spain which could not be allayed. The opposition eagerly availed themselves of the pretext thus afforded. Petitions were poured into the House of Commons, and the captain of a trading vessel was brought to the bar to state that one of his ears had been wantonly cut off by a Spaniard by whom his ship had been captured, and such became the public excitement, that tales far less probable gained an easy credit with the million. Walpole laboured earnestly to prevent the impending rupture; to engage Spain in a treaty; and to convince the Commons that nothing could be more adverse to the true interest of the country than to enter upon a war. His efforts however were vain. In addition to the popular cry, within and without the walls of Parliament, the King had now

manifested his inclination to settle the contention rather by the sword than by negotiation. In 1739 a war was declared with Spain, and Walpole became only nominally minister.

The remainder of his political life was but a series of reverses and mortifications. His adherents gradually fell off; he was compelled to admit to a share of his power men who used it only to annoy and betray him; and he felt that the moments chosen by his enemies to put into practice their machinations against him were precisely those in which his failing strength rendered him least able to cope with them. In the bitterness of his heart he complained in council that he was thwarted on every side, and unable to execute measures of the expediency of which he was convinced. At length a motion was made in the House of Commons for an address to the King to dismiss him, by Mr. Sandys, who prefaced it by an elaborate speech filled, of course, with the bitterest imputations and censures. Walpole's reply was one of the most able, and, now that the feelings which then lent a false colour to men's professions have subsided, one of the most satisfactory, that ever was uttered in Parliament. The falsehood of some of the accusations, the staleness of others, and the absurdity of the pretence that, in a government like ours, a minister is to be held personally responsible for all that may have gone wrong through a long series of years, were so grossly apparent, that only party spirit, in its wildest mood, could have resorted to them.

Walpole's secure ground of defence was his innocence; but the perfect knowledge he possessed of the character of his assailants, and of the usual effect of the biting sarcasms which he had been so long used to launch against them, gave him advantages that might have made even the worse appear the better cause. There is a part of his speech, where he replied to the pretence of patriotic feeling under which this great attack on him was masked, the point of which is not weakened, though the occasion that excited it has so long passed away.—“Gentlemen,” said he in a tone of indignant satire, “have talked much of patriotism; a venerable word! but I am sorry to say that of late it has been so hackneyed

about that it is in danger of falling into disgrace. The very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been prostituted to the worst of purposes. A patriot, sir!—why patriots spring up like mushrooms: I could raise fifty of them within twenty-four hours. I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot. I have never been afraid of making patriots; but I disdain and despise all their efforts; for this pretended virtue proceeds from personal malice, and from disappointed ambition. There is not a man among them whose particular aim I am not able to ascertain, and from what motive he has entered into the lists of opposition.”

The motion was negatived, chiefly through the secession of that most incorruptible Jacobite, “honest Will Shippen,” who, with thirty-four of the party headed by him, quitted the House, and refused to vote on the question. The result however was that all the world saw, and the minister clearer than others, that his influence was extinct. He soon after found himself occasionally in minorities, and unable to carry on the business of the government. His health failed; his command of temper, and his capacity for exertion were diminished; and, after many struggles between his feelings and his judgment, he reluctantly determined to retire from public life. On the ninth of February, 1742, he was created Earl of Orford, and on the eleventh surrendered his offices. The King, who now knew and duly appreciated his services, and who had the most implicit reliance on his talents, was as unwilling to receive as Walpole to tender his resignation. When the necessities of the public business forced this measure upon him, George the Second expressed his regret with unaffected kindness, and hopes that, although he was deprived of the minister’s active exertions, he should yet have the advantage of his advice on important occasions. The interview in which this conversation occurred was marked by more real feeling than such scenes commonly display. The King shed tears, and the minister was so overcome by his emotion that when he had knelt to kiss his master’s hand he was unable for some minutes to rise from that posture.

FIRST EARL OF ORFORD.

With the loss of office he lost not the cares which had been connected with it. The late proceedings of his enemies had convinced him that their animosity would be appeased only by his total ruin, and, in order to evade the result of the reserved attack, he earnestly employed himself in endeavouring to disunite the opposition, and to form a whig administration, to be headed by his old antagonist, Pulteney. Walpole's address and exertions overcame the obstacles which opposed themselves to this plan, but the new ministry was no sooner arranged than he was accused in the House of Commons of various crimes and misconduct in his office. A parliamentary enquiry was resolved on by a majority only of seven, and a secret committee of his most notorious enemies were appointed to conduct it. The prosecution was carried on with equal virulence and injustice, till cut short by impediments too numerous, and too complicated, to be here explained ; and an attempt was made to revive it in the succeeding session, but instantly negatived. The King's confidence in his old servant was in no degree shaken by these attacks. His Majesty was engaged in frequent communications with him, chiefly carried on secretly in correspondence by letters, which were mutually returned. The King not only solicited, but generally adopted, the advice given by Lord Orford, and it was chiefly by him that the Pelham administration was formed in the summer of 1743.

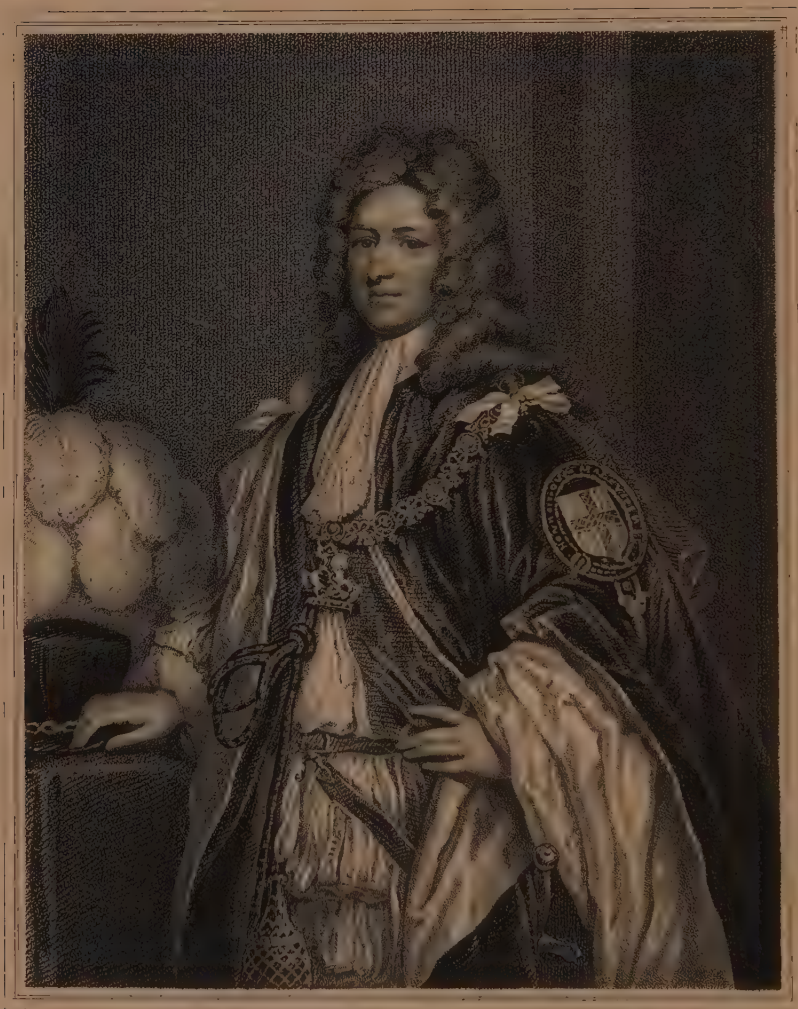
He now retired to Houghton, with a broken spirit and constitution, intending to pass the remainder of his life in the privacy which those infirmities required ; but, on the news of the invasion of 1745 the King sent for him, and though he was then suffering under an attack of a nephritic complaint which had long afflicted him, he came by slow journeys to London, and in a speech which he made in the House of Peers displayed all the force and fervour which had graced his happiest efforts on former occasions. These exertions however, joined to the injudicious use of a quack medicine, in the hope of removing their consequences, so aggravated his disease, that, after lingering for a few months, in a state of torment which was only capable of relief by continual doses of opium, he

ROBERT WALPOLE.

died on the eighteenth of March, 1746, N. S. at his house in Arlington Street, and was buried at Houghton.

Of Lord Orford's private life, if the expression may be properly used respecting a man who scarcely existed but in a public character, little is to be said. He was of imperturbable good temper : addicted to the pleasures of the table in a greater degree than most of his contemporaries of his own rank, even in those days, when such excesses were universally indulged in ; and is said to have been better satisfied with a reputation for gallantry, of all reputations the most easily raised, and the least worth earning, than for the exalted qualities which he unquestionably possessed. We have been told by some that he had a vulgar love of expense, without any true notions of magnificence ; that he collected pictures, at immense cost, without either taste or love for the arts ; and that, although he had been in his early life fond of literature, he was so unhappy as to survive that inclination, and to have regretted in his latter days that he no longer found any enjoyment in intellectual pursuits. He has left a name identified with one of the most interesting portions of the modern history of his country, and a reputation altogether brilliant, but for the adventitious stains which sometimes fell on its surface in his unavoidable contact with the baseness of others.

He married, first, Catherine, daughter and heir of Sir John Shorter, a wealthy merchant, by whom he had three sons, and one daughter : Robert, his successor ; Sir Edward, a Knight of the Bath ; Horace, who, in his old age, succeeded his nephew George, and became fourth Earl, but who will ever be better remembered as the greatest master of elegant literature of his time ; and Mary, married to George, fourth Earl of Cholmondeley. His second Lady was Maria, daughter and heir of Thomas Skerret. By her he had issue one daughter, born before marriage, to whom the rights of legitimacy, and the rank of an Earl's daughter, were specially granted by King George the Second. She became the wife of Charles Churchill, a Colonel in the army.



Engraved by W. Hall.

CHARLES SEYMOUR, DUKE OF SOMERSET.

OB. 1748.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

CHARLES SEYMOUR,

SIXTH DUKE OF SOMERSET.



THIS great Peer, whose constant endeavours in a time of altered feelings and fashions to maintain his claim to those forms of deep respect which in the preceding age flowed, as it were naturally, towards the heads of the aristocracy, had obtained for him the appellation of the proud Duke of Somerset, was the second surviving son of Charles Lord Seymour of Trowbridge (first cousin to John, the fourth and last Duke of the elder line), by his second lady, Elizabeth, daughter of William, Lord Allington of Wymondley, and was born on the twelfth of August, 1662. He succeeded to the superb titles and estates of his family in 1678, on the death of his elder brother, Francis, who was assassinated at Lerici, in the Genoese territory, when he had just attained the age of twenty-one. With the circumstances of his very early life, we are unacquainted, knowing only that he studied in the University of Cambridge. A splendid alliance was arranged for him, and celebrated in his minority; for, on the thirtieth of May, 1682, he was married to Elizabeth, only daughter and sole heir of Josceline Percy, eleventh and last Earl of Northumberland of the original male line, a lady of whom it was said that she had been thrice a wife, and twice a widow, before she had passed her sixteenth year. She had indeed been already affianced, first, to the only son of Henry Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, Henry Earl of Ogle, who died in

CHARLES SEYMOUR,

childhood ; and then to Mr. Thynne, whose life was in the preceding year sacrificed to his successful suit for her favour, by the well known horrible murder perpetrated in Pall Mall, by a disappointed pretender to her hand, Count Coningsmark, and his associates.

He accepted the office of a Lord of the Bedchamber from King Charles the Second, who about the same time gave him the command of the third regiment of dragoons, and, on the first of January, 1684, invested him with the ensigns of the Garter. On the death of that Prince, which occurred about a year after, James continued him in his appointments, and called him to the Privy Council, in which he had sat also in the former reign. When Monmouth appeared in arms, in Somersetshire, the Duke hastened thither, and placed himself at the head of the militia of the county, but the ephemeral fate of that wild rebellion rendered his services unnecessary.

Few of the great nobility stood higher in the royal favour than himself, when a circumstance somewhat singular suddenly deprived him of it. James, among the concluding follies of his short reign, had determined to receive in the face of the country a public minister from the Pope, and Ferdinand d'Adda, who had been about James's court for some years, was the Queen's favourite priest, and had long privately managed the chief papal affairs in England, was chosen for that office. But the King was not satisfied with this degree of imprudence—he resolved to grace the embassy with peculiar honours ; and d'Adda, having been first pompously consecrated an Archbishop, in the royal chapel of Whitehall, was conducted with great ceremony to Windsor Castle, to his first audience of the King and Queen, in the character of Nuncio. The Duke happened to be then in his turn of waiting, and it was therefore his office to usher the minister into their presence ; this he positively refused, though twice urged to it by James himself, who, in vehement anger immediately dismissed him from his appointments. Two Whig historians, generally in happy agreement, differ much as to the Duke's motives to this denial. Kennet says that “ this illustrious patriot resigned without the least concern,

SIXTH DUKE OF SOMERSET.

as being abundantly satisfied that he kept his conscience and his honour, while he lost nothing but his places." Burnet tells us that "he had advised with his lawyers, and they told him he could not safely do the part that was expected of him in the audience." This was caution, not conscience. In the last days of this unhappy reign, he was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

He was one of the Peers who offered their services to the Prince of Orange immediately on his arrival, but seems to have held no public office under him till the last year of his reign, when he was appointed President of the Council, and was one of the Lords Justices to whom William committed the Government during his final visit to Holland. On the accession of Anne, he was called to the Privy Council, and was one of the five noblemen nominated by that Princess to examine the papers of the deceased King, and on the third of July, in the same year, 1702, was placed in the post of Master of the Horse, which he held till 1712. In 1708 he was one of the commissioners for the great affair of the Union, and in 1710 was largely concerned in bringing about that change of Administration which emancipated the Queen from the thralldom in which she had been so long held by the Duchess of Marlborough and the Whigs. "The Duke of Somerset," says Burnet, "had very much alienated the Queen from the old ministry, and had no small share in their disgrace; but he was so displeased with the dissolution of Parliament, and the new model of the ministry, that, though he continued sometime Master of the Horse, he refused to sit any more in Council, and complained openly of the artifices that had been used to make him instrumental to other people's designs, which he did, among others, to myself."

This nobleman, however, as became his exalted station, seems to have acted always independently of party, and to have interfered little in the direction of public affairs. In two other instances in this reign, we trace, it is true, important consequences from his resolute conduct in the Council—in 1708, when his steady refusal, in the Queen's presence, to enter on the consideration of the affairs of Europe, in the absence of the Commander-in-Chief, Marl-

borough, produced Harley's resignation; and again on the thirtieth of July, 1714, when the unexpected and uncalled for appearance at the Board, of himself and the Duke of Argyle, a few hours before the Queen's death, interrupted the deliberations of the Jacobite majority, and perhaps secured the succession to the House of Hanover. On her Majesty's decease King George the First included him in the list of eminent persons to whom he committed the government till his arrival in England, on which the Duke was immediately sworn of the Privy Council, and shortly after restored to the place of Master of the Horse, which however he resigned in the autumn of the succeeding year, on his security being declined for the good conduct of his son-in-law, Sir William Wyndham, who was suspected of treasonable correspondence. After this he never held any public appointment either in the Court or State, except that he was again a Privy Counsellor in the following reign.

The Princes whom he served, and their ministers, seem to have been fully aware of his taste for pompous show and dignified ceremony, and studious to gratify it, for he was almost invariably appointed to act a principal part in every grand public solemnity which occurred during his life, and the loftiness of his temper and habits, the most exact high breeding, and a fine person and countenance combined to qualify him peculiarly for such offices. Of his excessive haughtiness in private life a multitude of instances, for the most part unworthy of being here repeated, have been preserved. We are told that his second Duchess, who will be presently mentioned, having once familiarly tapped him on the shoulder with her fan, he started, and cried, with great indignation, "Madam, my first wife was a Percy, and she never took such a liberty." He exacted too the most profound respect from his children. It was one of the offices of his two youngest daughters to watch him in turn while he slept after dinner, but they were to stand without intermission. Indulging one afternoon in a longer portion of repose than usual, the fair centinel became fatigued, and took a chair, when the Duke suddenly awaking, and finding her seated,

SIXTH DUKE OF SOMERSET.

severely reprimanded her, and told her that he would make her remember her disobedience. He left twenty thousand pounds less to her than to her sister, and this has been, it is to be hoped falsely, ascribed to his resentment of that offence. His communication with his servants is said to have been conducted by signs, in perfect silence. He employed a multitude of people in repairing bye-roads near his country seats that he might not be liable, in his airings, to obstruction or observation. Meanwhile he was not less punctual in conceding to the few who could justly claim them at his hands those rights of which when due to himself he was so tenacious. The facetious Sir James Delaval betted a thousand pounds that he would make the Duke give place to him. Having gained information when his Grace would pass a piece of narrow road on his way to London, he waited there in a coach, covered with the armorial ensigns, and attended by several servants in the livery, of the Head of the House of Howard. These, when Somerset approached, cried out, "My Lord Duke of Norfolk;" when the junior Duke hastily ordering his coachman to run his near horses and wheels into a ditch, made room for Delaval to pass, who, bowing, wished his Grace a good morning—but enough, if not too much, of these characteristic trifles.

His lady died in 1722, and the Duke, after a widowhood of three years, married, in his grand climacteric, Charlotte, second daughter of Daniel Finch, Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham. From that period he lived almost wholly in the country, residing chiefly at his mansion of Petworth, in Sussex, now the seat of his great grandson, the Earl of Egremont. In this retirement his objects and his pursuits seem gradually to have narrowed and dwindled into a constant series of efforts to prolong a life which, especially to one of his character, had teemed with so many blessings. Among the papers of Sir Hans Sloane, preserved in the British Museum, are numerous letters from the Duke and Duchess, and their attendants, to that celebrated physician, chiefly on the state of his Grace's health; marked by an anxiety so intense and so extravagant as to be at once ridiculous and deplorable. Many of them are to press

CHARLES SEYMOUR,

the Doctor for remedies for a deafness that vexed him, the cause of which he seems at last himself shrewdly to have guessed, for, in the year 1737, when he was seventy-five, the Duchess thus concludes a long letter to Sir Hans—"My Lord desires his most humble service to you. He continues with thickness of hearing, which puts him in the spleen, fearing it proceeds from old age. He has been very seldom out of the house, and keeps his ears stopt with black wooll, dipt in oyl of vipers, mixt sometimes with palsy drops, sometimes with spirit of castor, and sometimes dipt only in oyl of bitter almonds, but does not find advantage from either."

I will add the following letter from himself, chiefly for the sake of the last paragraph, in which the solicitude that he expresses for an insignificant stranger who seems to have treated him with negligence, if not rudeness, strongly argues that his pride had no mixture of unfeelingness or ill temper—

"Pettworth, Jan. 31, 17³³₈₇

"SIR,

"The inclosed Paper will give you a melancholy account of a very severe cold that my wife dosse at present lye under. Wee desire your advice upon it, although shee is at more eas at present than shee hath been, yet wee want to gett rid of these paines, by your opinion and direction most proper to bee done under our present circumstances.

"As to myself, my bleeding stopt the day before my servant returned, so that I did not bleed—It was occasioned by a timorous surgeon, who pricked 3 times with a shaking hand, without bleeding an ounce, therefore I stopped him. I have not taken any of the electuary for the same reason that I bleed no more, but I have taken Acton waters, boyled to half the quantity. It did operate well, and I am very well, and free from those bleedings, but I doe begin to have breakings out of redness on my hands and armes. These scorbutick humoures you know I am subject too at this time of the year, but otherwise I am perfectly well in health, but not in my hearing. Pray what opinion have you of one Duckett, lately

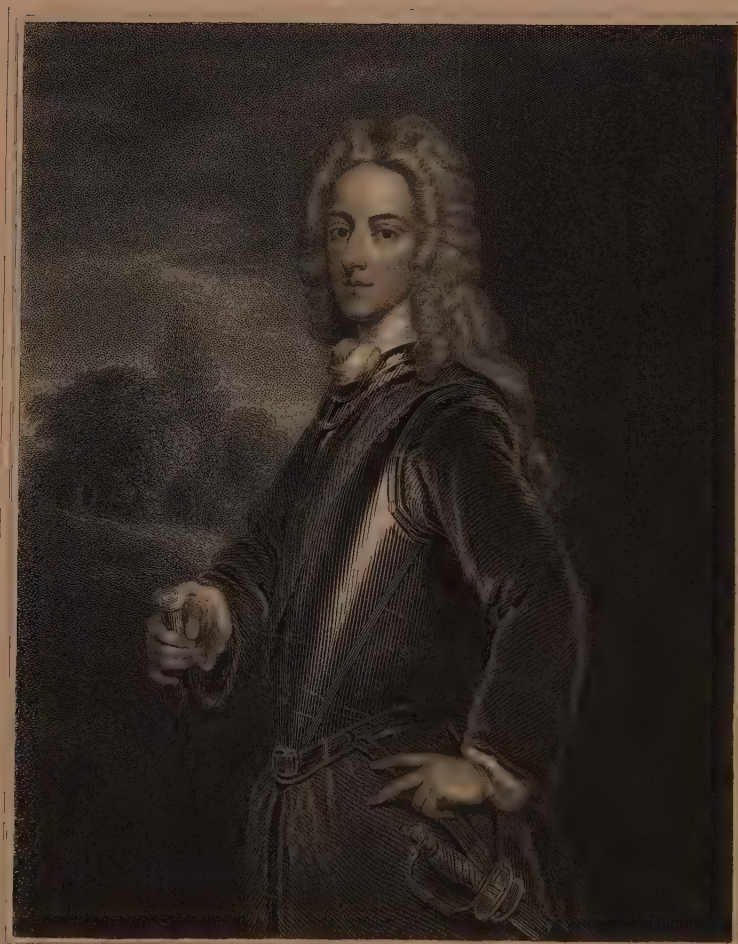
SIXTH DUKE OF SOMERSET.

come up to town, who is mentioned in the newes papers as having done very great cures on people who have been deaff some years ?

“I had the last week a letter from one Mr. W. Bedford. Hee sent me a certificatte from the Vice-chancellor, and severall heads of colleges, that hee is a man of good learning and sobriety, as is testified to them by severall eminent physicions ; that, as he hath been educated abroad, hee cannot be admitted without his Majesty’s royall letter. I desire your opinion of him as to his skill in the profession of physick, for I know not whoe nor where he is, for hee dothe not tell mee ; nor when hee will come to mee for my certificatte to the Secretary of Statte, therefore I doe desire your opinion of him. I am your very humble servant,

“SOMERSET.”

The Duke died at Petworth on the second of December, 1748, and was buried in Salisbury Cathedral. His marriages have been already stated. By his first Duchess he had issue Algernon, his successor ; Percy, and Charles, who died unmarried ; Elizabeth, married to Henry O’Brien, Earl of Thomond ; Catherine, to Sir William Wyndham, of Orchard Wyndham, in Somersetshire, Bart. ; Anne, to Peregrine Osborn, Marquis of Caermarthen ; and Frances, who died unmarried. His second lady brought him two daughters ; Frances, married to John Manners, Marquis of Granby, eldest son of John, Duke of Rutland ; and Charlotte, to Heneage Finch, second Earl of Aylesford.



Engraved by W. Haden.

JOHN, DUKE OF MONTAGU.

OB. 1749.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

JOHN MONTAGU,

SECOND DUKE OF MONTAGU,

WAS the only surviving son of Ralph, Lord Montagu, of Boughton; in the county of Northampton, who had been created by William and Mary, Viscount Monthermer, and Earl of Montagu, and, by Queen Anne, Marquis of Monthermer, and Duke of Montagu, by Elizabeth, one of the daughters and coheirs of Thomas Wriothesley, fourth and last Earl of Southampton of that family, and relict of Jocelyn Percy, eleventh Earl of Northumberland. He was born in 1688, or in the following year, and in 1705 married Mary, fourth and youngest daughter and coheir of John Churchill, the great Duke of Marlborough. He succeeded to the honours and superb estates of his father on the ninth of March, 1708-9.

Little has been delivered to us respecting the character and conduct of this nobleman, who seems to have been content to confine himself merely to the sphere of the court, and with offices there, which, though not beneath his dignity, were certainly of an order very inferior to such as it might have entitled him to challenge. He officiated as Constable of England at the Coronation of King George the First, who, on the eleventh of October, 1715, appointed him colonel of the first regiment of foot guards; on the thirty-first of March, 1718, gave him the Order of the Garter; and on the revival of that of the Bath, in 1725, constituted him Great Master. He was also Master of the Great Wardrobe, an office in the royal household, which had been settled on his father by patent, with remainder to himself; and I find him styled

JOHN MONTAGU,

“Lord Proprietor, and Captain General, of the Islands of St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, in America,” probably by virtue of grants which reverted to the Crown at his death.

On the twenty-seventh of August, 1733, he was made Governor of the Isle of Wight, and in the succeeding June, captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners; and in 1736 was called to the Privy Council. Though he abounded in military appointments, he seems never to have been in active service. He received in 1735 a commission of Major General, and in 1739, of Lieutenant General; and on the twelfth of May, 1740, became Master General of the Ordnance, and Colonel of the Queen’s Regiment of Horse; and was now, as again in 1745, and 1748, one of the Lords Justices for the administration of the government, during the periods which occurred in those years of the absence of George the Second at Hanover. On the occurrence of the rebellion in 1745, he raised a regiment in the counties of Northampton and Warwick, of which he was Lord Lieutenant, but Lord Orford informs us that the men were paid by the Crown: the Duke’s loyalty however was acknowledged in the following year by the grant of a commission of General of the Horse. The witty and severe Sir Charles Hanbury Williams has a satirical poem on the noble raisers of troops in that time, entitled “the Heroes,” in which he bestows these lines on the Duke of Montagu—

“Three regiments one Duke contents,
With two more places you know;
Since his Bath knights,
His Grace delights
In tria junct’ in uno.”

We find perhaps in his private character the causes which tended to detach his mind from that inclination to important employment in the state which generally excites the ambition of men of his rank—He was an eccentric humourist, but with a heart overflowing with kindness and generosity; and his irresistible affection to the surprising and the ridiculous seldom failed to insinuate itself even into those noble acts of beneficence which

SECOND DUKE OF MONTAGU.

ought to immortalize his name. The neighbourhood of Boughton, his favourite seat, in Northamptonshire, still cherishes abundant traditionary anecdotes of this singular disposition ; for it is chiefly to the perhaps safe evidence of tradition that we owe our knowledge of it. His tenderness was extended to (possibly the truest test of its excess and genuineness) every class of animated nature. His tenants and dependants were strictly charged neither to work nor to kill their old or disabled cattle ; but to bring them to his park, a portion of which was set apart for their reception, which he called “ the reservoir,” in which they remained till their natural death. The *Memoirs of the Kit Kat Club*, the only printed work which records his amiable extravagances, informs us that “ he was constantly seeking for objects whereon to exercise his benevolent propensities, and was remarkable for performing acts of charity and kindness with a singularity and dexterity of achievement which at once astonished and confounded the persons on whom his favours were lavished ; and he used to declare that it was this very surprise in the party which afforded him so much delight and amusement ; and that the pleasure with which he bestowed a benefit on a deserving individual was precisely in proportion to the opportunities he had of making the reverse so much the more extraordinary and unlooked for. These statements are followed, and beautifully illustrated, by a narrative too long to be here inserted, and too interesting throughout to admit of abridgement.

John, Duke of Montagu, died of a virulent fever, at his house in Privy Gardens, Whitehall, on the sixteenth of July 1749, without male issue, leaving two daughters his coheirs ; Isabella, married, first, to William Montagu, second Duke of Manchester ; secondly, to Edward Hussey of Ireland ; and Eleanor, to George Brudenel, fourth Earl of Cardigan, who in 1766 assumed her family surname, and in whom the titles of Marquis of Monthermer, and Duke of Montagu, were then revived, and, by whose death in 1790, without male issue, again became extinct.



Engraved by W. E. Fry.

HENRY ST. JOHN; VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

OB. 1751.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNEIJLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

London, Published Dec^r 1, 1836, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

HENRY ST. JOHN,

FIRST VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

THE life of Lord Bolingbroke is one of those lessons by which mankind are taught that genius, learning, wit, the loftiest aspirations, and the happiest opportunities for realising all that honest ambition can suggest to a great mind, are bestowed in vain, unless they are accompanied by prudence, and integrity of principle. His character has been made alternately by his friends and by his enemies a theme of the highest panegyric, and of the blackest censure. The opinions of posterity are likely to be as much divided as were those of his contemporaries; and the only safe conclusion that can be arrived at is, that he possessed an extraordinary mixture of good and of evil, of greatness and meanness, of that which ennobles as well as of that which disgraces mortality.

He was the only child of Sir Henry St. John, of Battersea, in Surrey, by his first wife, Mary, second daughter and coheir of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, and was born in 1672. The course of his early education was such as might have checked the growth of parts less brilliant than his. His grandmother, the daughter of the republican Chief Justice St. John, was strongly tinctured with the puritanical zeal which had flourished during Cromwell's usurpation, and which had not yet been wholly eradicated by the licentious state of public morals that had ensued. Under the inspection of this lady his education was commenced: the tutor of his most tender infancy was her spiritual guide, the fanatical Daniel Burgess, and his first steps in learning were made through Dr. Manton's hundred and nineteen sermons on the hundred and

nineteenth Psalm. At Eton School, and at Christ Church, Oxford, the impressions of his childhood were presently effaced, and his wit blazed forth with a brilliancy equalled only by the force and prematurity of his understanding. He made his first appearance in the great world with a high reputation ; but even at that period his love of pleasure had excited the apprehensions of his friends. Besides considerable learning, of which his accurate and retentive memory gave him the most perfect command, he possessed a fine taste, an inexhaustible imagination, and a rapid and irresistible eloquence ; and added, to a remarkably handsome and graceful person, elegant and prepossessing manners, with a flow of animal spirits which excess could not exhaust, and which disappointment had not yet controlled. Up to the age of twenty-eight, with talents which might have gained him universal respect and admiration, he had done nothing but establish a character for consummate dissipation ; and his most notable triumphs had been exploits which sometimes scandalized all decency and manliness. One of his biographers has said, that this period of his life “ may be compared to that of fermentation in liquors, which grow muddy before they brighten ; but it must also be confessed, that those liquors which never ferment are seldom clear : ” an apology which contains more of ingenuity than of soundness.

In the year 1700, he formed a matrimonial connection with the wealthy heiress of Sir Henry Winchcomb, of Bucklebury, Berks ; but the union was so ill-assorted, that, after a short period, passed in incessant dissensions, they separated by mutual consent. In the same year he took his seat in Parliament, as member for Wootton Bassett. His graceful and impassioned eloquence, the solidity of his judgment, and the comprehensive views which he took of business, attracted the notice of every party ; but, to the disappointment of his dissenting friends, he at once espoused the side of the Tories ; attached himself closely to Harley, their leader ; assisted him powerfully in the busy debates which ensued : and exerted himself at no time more earnestly than in the discussions respecting the bill against occasional conformity, which he sup-

FIRST VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

ported as vigorously as, considering his early education, and his family connections, it was expected he would have opposed it. In 1704 Mr. Harley was appointed Secretary of State, and Mr. St. John was at the same time entrusted with the office of Secretary at War. He had probably little personal regard even at this time for the Duke of Marlborough, but he had adopted, together with his colleagues, a conviction that the duration of the war would be a great evil to the country, and he therefore exerted himself to furnish the general with the means of striking such decisive blows as were calculated to bring it to a termination. The most brilliant exploits of that great commander, and the munificent rewards which were heaped upon him by the nation, occurred while Mr. St. John was at the head of the war department. Tory as he was, and pledged to the establishing of the Tory party and Tory principles on the destruction of the Whigs, he had too strong a sense of his country's true interests, and too generous a feeling towards Marlborough, for whose talents he had a high admiration, to do anything, or to leave anything undone, which might interfere with the success, or moderate the triumph of either.

In 1708 his party was doomed to yield to the influence of their opponents. Harley was dismissed, and St. John unhesitatingly resigned his own office, an act the more gracious because it was a voluntary sacrifice to political principle. The new ministry successfully opposed his re-election in the ensuing Parliament, and he retired to spend in privacy and study the two following years, a period which he often afterwards said was the most active of his life. In 1710 the power of the Tories was once more in the ascendant. Harley was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. St. John Secretary of State. Now it was that the vigour and versatility of his talents were tasked to their utmost, and were found equal to the performance of duties more important and multifarious than it had ever before fallen to the lot of a minister to discharge. The peace of Utrecht was to be accomplished, in spite of innumerable difficulties,—against the opinions of the repulsed but not defeated Whigs,—against the opposition of the

House of Lords,—against the more powerful, though more secretly exerted, influence of the Bank of England, the East India Company, and the whole monied interest of the country,—against the popular names of the Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Eugene,—against the jealous intrigues of the Emperor, and such of the allies as found their interest in continuing the war, or feared to lose by the peace,—and notwithstanding the weakness of the Queen, and the timidity and envy of his colleagues. The first thing to be done was to prepare the public mind, by informing it of the real state of the country's foreign relations and domestic resources, which had been grossly misrepresented by party feelings and interests. To accomplish this, Mr. St. John laboured in his speeches in Parliament; with this view he composed his official dispatches; and to the same end he wrote in the periodical publications of the day. The Examiner newspaper, which he planned with Prior and Atterbury, and which fell afterwards into the hands of Swift, was a main instrument in this design, and by convincing the people that the burthen and charges of the war rested on them, while the fruits were reaped by the allies, had a material influence on the elections for the new Parliament. St. John was the master-spirit that directed every movement. It was in vain that his political opponents endeavoured to make head against the immense power of public opinion which he had raised by these means. The bitter and unsparing sarcasm, the irresistible force of argument, and even the aid of strong invective, to which he and the unscrupulous Swift resorted, were feebly met by the polished periods of Addison, and the somewhat elaborate wit of Steele. Like one of those old Norman warriors whom he reckoned among his ancestry, he fought with a heavy mace, which he wielded with both hands, and with which he dealt such blows as crushed at once his enemies, and the brilliant but slender weapons they opposed to him. At length his work was accomplished; his enemies were unable to withstand the storm he had raised; the peace was determined on, Marlborough was displaced, and the conferences for the treaty of Utrecht were opened.

FIRST VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

In 1712 he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron St. John, of Lidyard Tregoze, in the county of Wilts, and Viscount Bolingbroke, in the county of Lincoln, with remainder, in default of issue male, to his father, Sir Henry St. John, and the heirs male of his body. At this period a dissension broke out between him and Harley, then Earl of Oxford, which accelerated the ruin of both. Lord Bolingbroke had been denied, or at least had expected, not only the dignity of an Earl, but the Order of the Garter, in which it happened at that time there were many vacancies. He obtained neither, and he believed that Harley's influence had produced him this mortification. He complained that he was dragged into the House of Lords at such a time as made his promotion a punishment and not a reward, and that he was left there to defend, almost alone, and without influence, the treaties which he had carried by his own personal weight in the House of Commons, where, he says to Sir William Wyndham, "You know, from the nature of that assembly, they grow, like hounds, fond of the man who shows them the game, and by whose halloo they are used to be encouraged."

In October, 1713, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Essex, and soon afterwards went to Paris to conclude the treaty which his friend Prior had been for some time carrying on under his directions. Louis the Fourteenth received him with every mark of distinction. His appearance at the Opera there was greeted by a homage probably more sincere and much more flattering; the whole audience rising, and testifying by their acclamations the good-will they felt for the man whose wise counsels and persevering exertions had restored to them the blessings of peace. A month's residence in the French capital enabled Lord Bolingbroke to overcome the principal difficulties which remained, and assisted by the conciliatory temper of the Marquis de Torcy, whose benevolent and enlightened views on the subject were similar to his own, the peace of Europe was established. The expediency of this important measure gave rise to questions which occupied the public mind for many years, and

upon which party feeling may be said even now to be hardly extinct. It does appear to have been disproportionate to the success which England and the allies had gained in the war; but Bolingbroke, after several years had elapsed, and when disappointment and adversity had cooled the fervour which he might once have felt respecting it, said, while he admitted the country ought to have reaped greater advantages from the "successful" folly it had committed, he was so convinced of the necessity of peace, that if he could be placed in the same circumstances again, he would again take the same resolution, and act the same part. This was the termination of his glory; and here, if his history were to be concluded, it would, with the exception of faults committed during "the age of folly and the passions," be one of the most brilliant in modern history. Unfortunately for his reputation, as well as for his happiness, his after years were stained by graver faults, and embittered by their consequences; and that period of his life in which experience had matured the fruits of his early promise, without diminishing the elasticity of his spirit, was doomed to be passed under circumstances so painful that they impelled him to conduct which rendered his patriotism questionable, and raised suspicions against his honour.

One of those sudden changes in politics which happen in no country but England, occurred at this time. There were two classes of Tories; one was attached to the House of Hanover, the others were the adherents of the fallen fortunes of the Stuart family. The former party, with the most ridiculous versatility, joined the Whigs, whose power they believed would predominate upon the Queen's death. The first object of attack for the new coalition was the late treaty of peace, and the ministers were marked for their victims. At this time, when a union of their strength was more than ever necessary, the mutual dislike of Oxford and Bolingbroke had increased to such a degree that each seemed to prefer encountering the worst dangers to ensuring their safety by a co-operation. Lord Oxford's disgrace came first, and the exultation which Bolingbroke did not scruple to

FIRST VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

testify was scarcely over when his own followed. The death of the Queen annihilated his power and crushed his expectations. On the accession of George the First, he was dismissed from his office with insult. He was aware that he could expect no quarter from the Whigs, for he knew he had deserved none: he was threatened with a prosecution, and apprehended that "his blood was to be the cement of a new alliance." He therefore determined on flight, and, after announcing his intention to brave the storm, and appearing frequently in public to give a countenance to his assertion, he withdrew privately to France. His enemies were now left to pursue their hostile designs against him without opposition. Sir Robert Walpole conducted an impeachment against him in the House of Commons, and on the 10th of September, 1715, he was attainted of high treason.

Soon after his first arrival in France, in March, 1715, he had been solicited to join the party of the Pretender there; but receiving, at the same time, a well-meant caution from Lord Stair, the English Ambassador, he promised that nobleman that he would enter into no Jacobite engagements. This promise he says he kept; but it is difficult to reconcile that assertion with his subsequent conduct, unless an implied condition be understood, that, on the failure of his attempts to get his attainder reversed, he should be freed from his engagement. It was not until he saw that all his hopes in this respect were vain, that "with the smart of his attainder tingling in every vein," he accepted the office of Secretary of State to the titular king of England, James the Third. A very short experience sufficed to convince him of the utter hopelessness of James's cause. He saw that those who were most interested in it supported it so ill and so feebly; that their councils were so distracted, their means so small and so ill directed; that it could not but end in disaster and disappointment. He was disgusted at the falsehood and want of confidence he everywhere encountered, and was shocked at discovering that intriguers of the most wretched kind were permitted to meddle with matters on which the lives and fortunes of many noble and gallant persons

depended, and which, as it was then believed, were intimately connected with the true interests of these realms. For some time, however, he exerted all the powers of his fertile mind and indefatigable industry in this ill-starred cause. He sent emissaries to England who might be trusted, and made such applications to the French Court as, by compelling a distinct answer, if they did not accomplish the objects to which they were directed, would at least put an end to the mischievous delusions which had been kept up. The Chevalier's rash landing in Scotland, and his still more rash retreat, however, effectually destroyed all hope. Bolingbroke's discontent at his conduct, expressed in a moment when the influence of wine had thrown him off his guard, was repeated to his new master, and soon afterwards, before the year 1715 was at an end, he was dismissed from his post of Secretary, and the papers of his office, which he says might have been contained in a moderately sized writing-case, demanded of him. His own account of this event is amusing :—"The Thursday following the Duke of Ormond came to see me, and after the compliment of telling me that he believed I should be surprised at a message he brought, he put into my hand a note to himself, and a little scrip of paper directed to me, and drawn in the style of a justice of peace's warrant. They were both in the Chevalier's hand-writing, and were dated on the Tuesday, in order to make me believe that they had been writ on the road, and sent back to the Duke. His grace dropped in our conversation, with great dexterity, all the insinuations proper to confirm me in this opinion. I knew at this time that his master was not gone, so that he gave me two very risible scenes, which are frequently to be met with when some people meddle in business; I mean that of seeing a man labour with a great deal of awkward artifice to make a secret of nothing, and that of seeing yourself taken for a bubble, when you know as much of the matter as he who thinks that he imposes on you."—He gave up such of the papers as were at hand, but, with a candour which the Chevalier's treatment of him hardly deserved, kept until he had a safer opportunity of delivering them to

FIRST VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

him, some letters, in which he had expressed a very unceremonious opinion of his General's capacity. To add the last degree of ridicule to this affair, the Chevalier had articles of impeachment prepared against him, by which he was accused of having neglected and betrayed the duties of the office with which he had been entrusted. He answered these articles by a prompt and complete refutation, and congratulated himself that the Chevalier had, by his own act, broken the links of the chain which his engagement had fastened on him. Lord Stair had received instructions to detach him from the Jacobite interest, if it might be practicable, and no sooner learnt this rupture than he sent a gentleman to inform him that George the First was willing to grant him a pardon, and to assure him of his own good offices in bringing about his restoration. This offer was accompanied by a proposition that he should make certain discoveries, which he unhesitatingly and firmly rejected, but, at the same time, explained his intention of addressing to the Tories of England, a great portion of whom were Jacobites, such a statement of the late affairs as the conduct of the Chevalier towards him and the safety of his friends, no less than the vindication of his own honour, had rendered necessary; and which, he said, he thought would contribute to the establishment of the government, and the union of the people. Lord Stair felt the force of his representations, and advised the King to accede to them. Bolingbroke soon afterwards received a promise of pardon on the expiration of the Parliament by which the attainder against him had been passed, and which had yet nearly seven years to run. His father in the mean time, as an earnest of the King's intentions, was created Baron of Battersea and Viscount St. John, with remainder to his younger sons; and Bolingbroke put in practice the intention he had expressed to Lord Stair, by publishing his well-known letter to Sir William Wyndham.

In 1716 (his former wife having died soon after he went abroad) he married a young lady of great beauty and accomplishments, the widow of the Marquis de Villette, and a niece of Madame

de Maintenon. In her society he enjoyed the happiness which he had failed to find in his former marriage, and they remained in France until 1723, when, the Parliament being dissolved, he received a pardon. This however fell very far short of what he wished and of what he expected. He had hoped that he should be able to overcome the inveterate hatred of Sir Robert Walpole, his old foe and now the first Minister; and to compass that design, he had adopted the most conciliatory conduct towards him. Without relaxing in those civilities, he engaged, by means of a bribe of £11,000, the assistance of the Duchess of Kendall, George the First's favourite mistress, who exerted herself so powerfully, that Walpole, contrary to his own feelings and judgment, and enforced by a threat of dismissal from office if he should persist in his opposition, carried a bill through Parliament, restoring Bolingbroke in blood, and to the enjoyment of his family estates, but excluding him from his seat in the House of Peers. He now bought Dawley, near Uxbridge, a seat of Lord Tankerville's, whither he retired, as he gave it out, for the purpose of avoiding all temptations to mingle in the busy scenes of the world, and with a determination to devote himself wholly to study and rural enjoyments. He wrote exulting to Swift that he had, in the gardener's phrase, "laid hold of the ground, and that neither friends nor enemies would find it easy to transplant him;" but he either deceived himself or sought to deceive others. He was extremely desirous for a full restoration, of which, he said, the King had made him frequent solemn and unsolicited promises, and on the faith of which he had returned to England. He wrote to George the First claiming the fulfilment of this promise, but being unable to obtain it, his patience was exhausted, and he determined to try what his hostility would do against the minister whom his forbearance, and even his repeated submissions, had failed to move. He openly attributed to Walpole the proscription under which he laboured, and accused him of meanness and treachery, which he had affected to conceal under the mask of good will towards him; he declared open warfare against the

FIRST VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

minister, joined Mr. Pulteney and the discontented Whigs, and embarked with all his strength in an opposition. The influence of his powerful pen was again felt: a quantity of pamphlets, and a still greater number of papers in the *Craftsman*, a periodical publication of that day, conducted with great violence and ability, testified his unabated strength, and the intensity of his resentment. Walpole felt his power totter, but the unconquerable nerve which always distinguished him prevented his evincing the slightest apprehension, while it confirmed the King, strengthened his party, and eventually triumphed. Bolingbroke, through the means of the Duchess of Kendall, procured a memorial against Walpole to be delivered to the King, and requested an audience. Walpole, instead of opposing, backed this request. Bolingbroke had his audience, and when Walpole asked the King what his adversary had said, his Majesty replied, “Bagatelles! Bagatelles!” It was impossible for Bolingbroke now not to be convinced, by the repeated mortifications he had endured, that he struggled in a hopeless contest. The spirit of the times was different from that in which he had created and directed the force of public opinion; the occasion was wanting; and he had an opponent of a very different kind to cope with. Their relative positions too were changed; Walpole was in the very plenitude of his power—the minister who dispensed the gifts and favours of the government:—Bolingbroke was a helpless, hopeless individual, whose presence in the country seemed to be by the sufferance of his very enemies, and who, besides his talents, had no other distinction than that formed by the contrast between the once palmy state of his fortunes and their present degradation. In 1735 he found, too, that some of his coadjutors were disposed to depart from the views they had originally taken; his disgust at this discovery broke out into reproaches; quarrels ensued; and after ten years of unsparing warfare against the ministry, he determined to lay down his weapons. He had discovered that neither his parts, which everybody acknowledged, and which his enemies feared, nor the unostentatious life he had been leading for so many years, could procure

the reversal of his attainder, and he determined to withdraw to France, where he should at least avoid the mortification of being in sight of the object of his wishes, after he had convinced himself that to attain it was impossible.

In his retreat at Chanteloup, he wrote his "Letters on the Use and Study of History," a work in which the beauties and the blemishes are so intimately blended, as to furnish ample materials for the praises of his admirers, and for the worst censures of his foes. Its main and unpardonable fault is, that it attacks the authority of revealed religion, and some points of theology, a science of which the author was profoundly ignorant, and in which his speculations are as frivolous as they are blameable. In some letters which he afterwards published "On the true Use of Study and Retirement," he appeared to greater advantage, and expressed some highly original and philosophical observations with great power and eloquence. On the death of his father, who attained to a very advanced age, he returned to England, and took up his residence in the family mansion at Battersea, after which he went very little into public. In his intimacy with the Prince of Wales, the son of George the Second, those who impugn his memory have affected to discover marks of the angry spirit which had actuated the former part of his life, and have accused him, somewhat hastily, of having fomented the lamentable differences which prevailed at this period in the royal family. Here he wrote his "Letters on the Spirit of Patriotism," and the "Idea of a Patriot King," and he was engaged on "Some Reflections on the State of the Nation," when death put a period to his eventful and disturbed life. As a writer his productions were voluminous; among the political portion of them there are proofs of such rare and exalted talents as entitle him to an eminent literary reputation; the parts which consist of religious speculations have been often reprinted, but are now fallen into the oblivion they deserve. He died on the twelfth of December, 1751, of a cancer in the cheek, in that house where he had often expressed a wish to breathe his last sigh, and was buried in Battersea church. He left no issue of either of his marriages.



Engraved by W. T. Mote

RICHARD BOYLE, EARL OF BURLINGTON.

OB. 1753.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNALTON, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

RICHARD BOYLE,

THIRD EARL OF BURLINGTON.

THIS nobleman, who had the wisdom and courage to withdraw himself in the prime of life from the splendid vexations of courts and cabinets, to enjoy in a dignified retirement the consciousness of an unspotted fame, and the indulgence of a refined taste, was the eldest son and heir of Charles, second Earl of Burlington, and third Earl of Cork, by Juliana, daughter, and sole heir, of Henry, second son of Edward Noel, fourth Viscount Campden, and was born on the twenty-fifth of April, in the year 1695.

He is thus fairly characterised by the anonymous author, his contemporary, of a note attached to the article appropriated to his grandfather, Richard, the first Earl, in the *Biographia Britannica*—"I might take this opportunity of telling the reader that his Lordship inherits the virtues and abilities, as well as the estates and titles, of his family; that his merit has acquired him the most honourable reward in this kingdom, a blue riband; that he has had interest to obtain, and virtue enough to resign, great employments; that he has been a courtier above suspicion, a patriot without pique, or private views; a friend to his country in all circumstances of a public nature, as well as an honour to it in his personal accomplishments, and correct taste in the polite arts, more especially architecture, in which it is not easy to say whether his modesty or knowledge deserve applause most. But these are in a great measure beside our purpose, which is to do justice to the dead, not to court the favour of the living; nor should I think

RICHARD BOYLE,

what has been already said pardonable, but that it is no inconsiderable addition to the glory of a house, which has given Peers to all the three kingdoms, to have the present Earl of Burlington and Cork for its head, in which light I hope this liberty, taken from no other motive, will be considered and excused." Lord Orford, who lived also in his time, has left this brief but ample encomium at once on his liberality and his talents—"Never was protection and great wealth more generously and more judiciously diffused than by this great person, who had every quality of a genius and an artist, except envy."

The story of Lord Burlington's public life, if he can be said to have had any, lies in the smallest possible compass. We have no proof of his having ever betrayed even the slightest party inclination, and are left to infer, merely from remote circumstances, that he was held at least in no distaste at Court. The order of the Garter, a distinction strictly due to one so illustriously descended, for he sprung from a family more extensively ennobled than any other in the three kingdoms, was conferred on him in 1730, on the eighteenth of June, in which year he was installed; and in the following he accepted, rather in testimony, as it should seem, of his wish to be considered as an immediate servant of the Crown than from any other motive, the appointment of Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners. This however, though requiring but an unfrequent personal attendance, he resigned in 1733, and retired for the remainder of his life to the practice and the patronage of those elegant and innocent occupations in which he delighted.

Passing over slightly his skill in music, and judgment in painting, which were critically good, we will turn to his proficiency in that art of which several monuments remain to justify the praise which may be demanded for him. His munificence in promoting the publication of most expensive works on the subject of architecture was truly princely. In 1728, he bore the whole charge of preparing and publishing a series of plates in folio, which appeared under the title of "the Villas of the Ancients, by

THIRD EARL OF BURLINGTON.

R. Castell," and gave the profits, and the property, to the authors. In 1730, he printed "*Fabriche Antiche diseguate da Andréa Palladio, e date in luce da R. Conte di Burlington,*" a splendid volume in folio, of which a small number of copies were taken, to be distributed in presents to his friends, and to promising artists. He soon after collected Inigo Jones's designs, and published them in the name, and for the advantage, of William Kent, a painter, an architect, and a planner of pleasure grounds, whom he had brought from Rome, and who lived mostly in his Lordship's house, where he died a few years before his noble patron. He also enabled Kent to publish the designs for Whitehall, and gave a beautiful edition of the ancient baths, from the drawings of Palladio.

His buildings, which are numerous, are believed to be wholly from his own designs, although his modesty or his beneficence, frequently gave the credit of them to others. Thus he ascribed to Kent the finest work of his own taste, the new front of that noble mansion, Burlington House, in Piccadilly, which had been built by his father, though it is certain that Kent was at the time in Italy, and perhaps unknown to him. Of the grand colonnade which he attached to it Lord Orford says, in his "*Anecdotes of Painting,*" "I had not only never seen it, but had never heard of it, at least with any attention, when, soon after my return from Italy, I was invited to a ball at Burlington House. As I passed under the gate by night it could not strike me. At day-break, looking out of the window to see the sun rise, I was surprised with the vision of the colonnade that fronted me. It seemed one of those edifices in fairy-tales that are raised by genii in a night's time."

He erected many works also at his seat of Lonsborough, in Yorkshire, and in its neighbourhood, particularly the magnificent assembly room at York, which he not only designed but built, and for which, in 1732, the Lord Mayor and Corporation sent a deputation to return their thanks, accompanied by a compliment of the freedom of their city, in a gold box. The best known relic how-

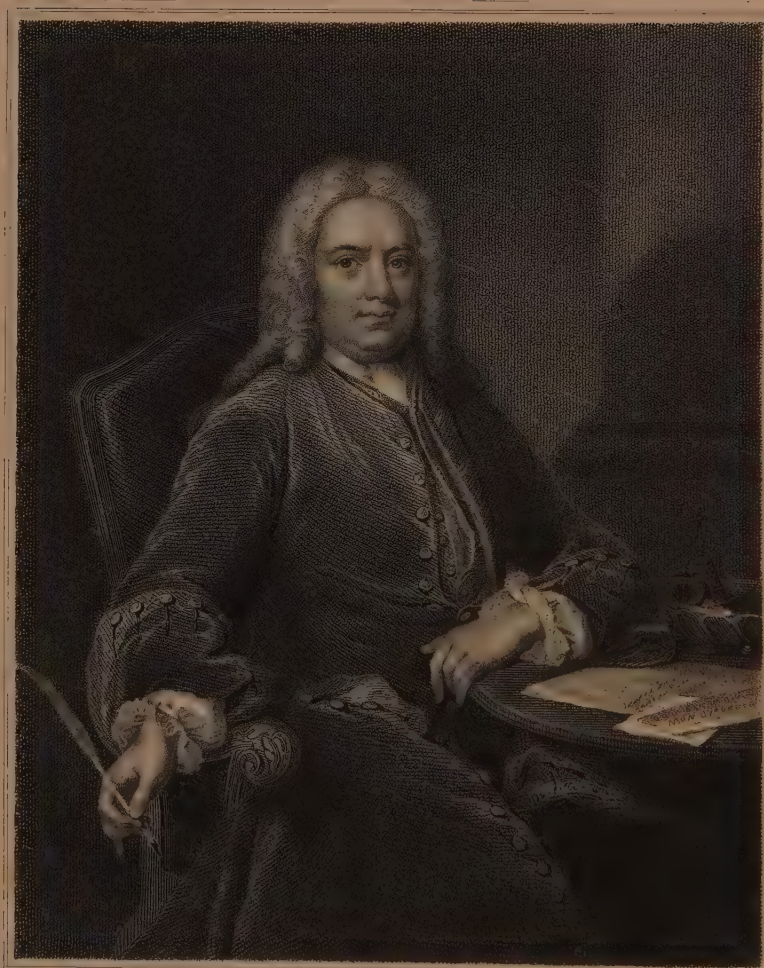
RICHARD BOYLE, THIRD EARL OF BURLINGTON.

ever at this day of his architectural taste and skill is his Villa at Chiswick, in Middlesex, now, by inheritance from him, owned by the Duke of Devonshire. That remarkable house was erected in imitation of the Villa Capra, near Vicenza, a work of his idolized Palladio, and has obtained the highest celebration from the most refined judges, though not without a candid admission of some faults.

Pope addressed to Lord Burlington the fourth epistle of his "Moral Essays," which concludes, rather hyperbolically, with these lines—

—————" Make falling Arts your care,
Erect new wonders, and the old repair ;
Jones and Palladio to themselves restore,
And be whate'er Vitruvius was before ;
Till Kings call forth the ideas of your mind,
Proud to accomplish what such hands design'd.
Bid harbours open, public ways extend ;
Bid Temples, worthier of the God, descend ;
Bid the broad arch the dang'rous flood contain,
The mole projected break the roaring main ;
Back to his bounds their subject sea command,
And roll obedient rivers through the land :
These honours peace to happy Britain brings ;
These are imperial works, and worthy Kings."

This accomplished Nobleman died on the fourth of December, 1753. By his lady, Dorothy, eldest of the two daughters and co-heirs of William Savile, Marquis of Halifax, he had issue three daughters; Dorothy, and Juliana, who died in infancy; and Charlotte, the last born, and sole heir to her father, who was married in 1748 to William Cavendish, fourth Duke of Devonshire.



Engraved by W. Hall.

HORATIO, FIRST LORD WALPOLE.

OB. 1757.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VAN LOO, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THOMAS WALPOLE ESQ^{RE}

HORATIO, FIRST LORD WALPOLE,

WAS the second surviving son of Robert Walpole, of Houghton, in Norfolk ; grandson of Sir Edward, who received the order of the Bath from Charles the Second, in reward for zealous services in the restoration; and a younger brother to that eminent statesman of the last century, to whom he was little inferior in sagacity, and equal in integrity. His mother was Mary, only daughter and heir of Sir Geoffery Barwel, of Rougham, in Suffolk.

He was born on the eighth of December, 1678, and received his education on the foundation of Eton, and afterwards at King's College, in Cambridge, of which he was admitted a scholar when in the twentieth year of his age, and chosen a fellow in May, 1702. After some hesitation in the choice of a profession, he resolved to adopt that of the law, and took chambers in Lincoln's Inn, where he remained not long, for in 1705 he accepted the office of secretary to General, afterwards Earl, Stanhope, envoy to the Archduke Charles, whose claim to the then disputed crown of Spain the allied powers had warmly espoused. In this employment he became sensible not only of his talent but of his taste for public business, and this impulse, together with the example and the rising interest of his brother Robert, who was already distinguished in Parliament, and attached to Queen Anne's whig ministry, determined him to embrace a political life. He became private secretary to Mr. Boyle, afterwards Lord Carleton, in that minister's several offices of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards of Secretary of State ; and in 1709 accompanied Lord Townshend

HORATIO, FIRST LORD WALPOLE.

to the Hague in the same capacity, on the appointment of that nobleman to the station of Plenipotentiary, jointly with the Duke of Marlborough, at the Congress of Gertruydenberg. He not only acquitted himself in this office to the entire satisfaction of his principals, but is said to have acquired, together with a degree of confidence which extended far beyond the limits of its actual occasions, their real esteem and friendship. Townshend indeed became unalterably attached to him, and received in return the most constant fidelity. He quitted, for the time, his incipient connection with public affairs on the retirement from office of that nobleman in 1711; was brought into Parliament by him in 1713; and joined the whigs, to whom indeed the political bias of his family had always leaned.

To that party, which might be said to be now headed by his brother and his friend Lord Townshend, George the First on his accession committed the management of public affairs. The latter, who was immediately appointed a Secretary of State, placed him in the post of under secretary, and in the autumn of the succeeding year, 1715, his brother, who had rapidly and deservedly risen to the station of prime minister, removed him to that of secretary to the Treasury. The fitness however which he had already manifested for diplomatic employment almost immediately detached him temporarily from the occupations of that office, and he was associated to General Cadogan, the English minister at the Hague, whose talents were thought incompetent to certain complicated negotiations which the circumstances of the time had suddenly required. The chief objects of these were to gain the consent of the States to the triple alliance with England and France, and to a defensive treaty between the former and the Emperor; and he succeeded in both, with an address and promptness which surprised all parties concerned. The result to himself was severe mortification. He had been authorised during the negotiation to assure the States, and had so done, that no treaty should be concluded with France without their participation. The King however, impatient to bind a court not less fickle than artful, had in the mean

time completed a treaty with the Abbé du Bois, its minister at Hanover, and Secretary Stanhope, by whom it had been conducted there, dispatched instructions for its signature to the Plenipotentiaries at the Hague ; Walpole nobly refused, and wrote to Stanhope, requesting to be instantly recalled. "Having plighted," says he in his letter, "my faith, my honour, and my conscience, in his Majesty's name to the States that nothing of this nature should be done, if I should afterwards sign with the Abbé, in violation of these sacred and solemn assurances, which I repeated but last Tuesday in a conference, I should never be able to show my ignominious head here again. And therefore I plainly see that this business, in which I thought that I should have some share of credit, will end in my ruin, because, although I shall ever think it the last misfortune to disobey so good and gracious a sovereign, yet I must freely confess I had rather starve, nay die, than do a thing that gives such a terrible wound to my honour and conscience, and will make me for ever incapable of serving the King any more, especially in this place, where I have at present some little credit and interest."

Such was the spirited independence of one who was but making his first steps in the profession of a statesman. He persevered firmly in insisting on his recal, and obtained it with difficulty ; but had scarcely arrived in London when the sudden discovery of certain intrigues against them by the Lords Stanhope and Sunderland, who headed what was called the Hanover Party, and were then with the King in that State, compelled his brother and Lord Townshend to despatch thither instantly a most confidential person, and he was appointed to execute their commission. He expostulated with their rivals with a warmth and candour which were always the chief features of his disposition, and received from them such solemn professions of attachment and support that he returned to London in the fullest confidence of the good success of his expedition, but, to his utter astonishment, was met there by a royal mandate for the dismissal of Townshend. His brother, justly enraged at such shameful duplicity, resigned his office of

HORATIO, FIRST LORD WALPOLE.

first Commissioner of the Treasury, and himself, though solicited by a direct message from the King to retain it, that of secretary. He now engaged with them in a parliamentary opposition to the knaves who had deceived and succeeded them, with a violence for which perhaps so treacherous a provocation sufficiently apologised.

The new ministers, Stanhope and Sunderland, inefficient and unpopular, were soon compelled to solicit the aid of their predecessors, and it was granted, with a disinterested frankness, seasoned with contempt. Both died shortly after, and Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Townshend returned triumphantly to their posts of First Lord of the Treasury and Secretary of State. Horace, as he was usually called, who had in the mean time accepted the office of secretary to the Duke of Grafton, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was now despatched to the Hague, to solicit military succour, in the event of a new attempt at that time apprehended, in favour of the exiled royal family, and obtained, with some difficulty, a resolution of the States to that effect. At length to such a height had his diplomatic credit risen that he was sent, in January, the following year, 1723-4, with unlimited confidence, on a mission to the Court of Versailles, involving points of considerable delicacy and importance, and, on the fifth of the succeeding May, was invested with the character of Ambassador Extraordinary, in which he remained there till his powers were extinguished by the death of George the First in 1727, when he returned, merely to receive a renewal of them from the new King, and was soon after appointed one of the Plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Soissons, to meet the Imperial, French, Spanish, and Dutch ministers. Of his negotiations at the Court of Louis the Fifteenth during his long residence there, for his embassy terminated not till the year 1730, even the slightest detail would be more than could be here expected. They present to our view the singular and agreeable picture of two statesmen mutually attempting, and succeeding in the attempt, to perform their duties to their respective masters with strict precision and fidelity, without using any of those petty tricks and con-

HORATIO, FIRST LORD WALPOLE.

trivances which discredit and falsify the name, usually attributed to them, of dexterity, and have, even for ages, cast an unfavourable shadow on the diplomatic character. The intercourse of Mr. Walpole with Cardinal Fleury seems to have passed on both sides in the honourable confidence of gentlemen, and with the freedom even of private friends ; while the results, equally beneficial to the two states which they represented, were acknowledged by each with full approbation and gratitude.

Walpole indeed, favoured by the King, and yet more by Queen Caroline, who possessed great influence, not to mention the power of his brother, which was then at its zenith, might, had he been ambitious or avaricious, have commanded any degree of advantage ; but he contented himself with no higher reward than the appointment of Cofferer of the Household, to which he was nominated immediately before his final return from Paris. This office was not however without its recommendations ; it gave him a ready access, as of right, to the royal closet, where he was frequently consulted on affairs of the greatest importance and delicacy, and where he was admitted, in their moments of leisure, to a freedom of conversation in which an arch and lively simplicity of manners and expression contributed, not less than his solid good sense and judgment, to render him highly interesting both to the King and Queen. In the autumn of 1733 he was again despatched to the Hague on a secret mission, the object of which was to prevent the States from concluding a treaty of neutrality with France, in the expected event of a war between Louis and the Emperor. In this he was in a great measure successful ; and, so well had he managed the affair, that he was not long after appointed Ambassador in ordinary to the republic, much, as we are told, against his inclination. During this mission, and probably most others in which he had been employed, he carried on a large epistolary correspondence with the Queen. His letters to her Majesty exhibit the most minute details, and amply prove the high opinion he entertained of her talents. They are couched too in terms of familiarity which show that he thought no less favourably of her temper.

HORATIO, FIRST LORD WALPOLE.

This, it seems, was sometimes carried to such an extent as to cause offence. Writing, about this period to his brother, Sir Robert, he says—"I am extremely sorry to find that the dress of my letters to the Queen is not liked, although the matter is approved. I solemnly protest to you that I do not affect that free style, but I can no more write otherwise than I can tell how to dress my person better than I do."

He remained in his embassy at the Hague till 1740 ; occasionally absent in London, and once, for seven months, at Hanover, whither he attended the King, in June 1736, in the capacity of his Minister of State in the Electorate for English affairs, and returned with him for a few weeks in the succeeding January. The sequel of his services in Holland was rendered unpalatable and even painful to him by the perverseness of George the Second with respect to the disputed inheritance of the principality of East Friesland, and yet more by the inveterate personal enmity of that Prince to the Great Frederic the Second of Prussia, one or the other of which cramped and embarrassed all his latter transactions with the Dutch ministers. Walpole solicited, earnestly and repeatedly, his recall, and having obtained it with great difficulty, quitted the Hague with testimonials of respect and regard such as perhaps were never before bestowed on any foreign minister. On the second of May, 1741, he was appointed to the then very lucrative sinecure of a Teller of the Exchequer, resigning at the same time his little less profitable office of Cofferer of the Household.

The resignation, within a few months after, of his brother, Sir Robert, produced no alteration in either the public or private condition of Mr. Walpole. Always independent of party, he lost no old friends among those who with that great man quitted the administration, nor sought any new ones among those who succeeded. His opinion and advice in most affairs on the great theatre of continental politics and relations continued to be frequently and eagerly asked by each class of statesmen, and were never denied ; for his good temper, and obliging disposition, were little less remarkable than the great extent of his experience and intelligence.

HORATIO, FIRST LORD WALPOLE.

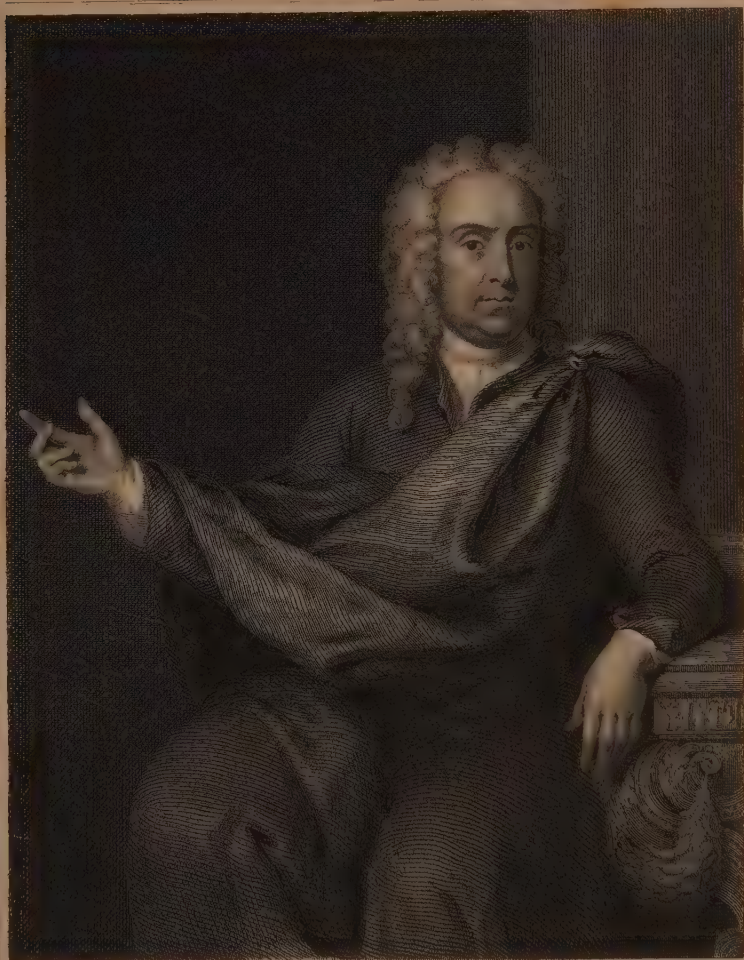
At the end of fifteen years from this period, which he had passed without taking any active concern in public affairs beyond a constant and most impartial performance of his duties in the lower House of Parliament, the marriage of his heir to a daughter of one of the most illustrious families in the kingdom, induced him, in his old age, and at a moment when his opinion disagreed with some favourite measures of the government, to solicit an advancement to the Peerage, and his request was immediately granted. "It was an honour," says he, in a letter to his friend, Archbishop Herring, of the nineteenth of June, 1756, "flowing entirely from his Majesty's own good will." On the first of that month he had been created Baron Walpole, of Wolterton, in Norfolk.

This Nobleman's biographer, the late Archdeacon Coxe, to whose work this meagre sketch has been mainly indebted, has drawn his character much at large, and with a masterly hand. "He was by nature choleric and impetuous. He corrected however this defect, so prejudicial to an ambassador, for no one ever behaved with more coolness and address in adapting himself to circumstances, and in consulting the characters and prejudices of those with whom he negotiated. Notwithstanding his natural vivacity, he was extremely placable, and easily appeased. He behaved to those who had reviled his brother's administration, and derided his own talents and person, with unvaried candour and affability, and no instance occurs of his personal enmity to the most violent of his former opponents. In conversation he was candid, unassuming, and communicated the inexhaustible fund of matter with which his mind was stored with an ease and vivacity which arrested attention. He maintained an unimpeached character for truth and integrity, as well in his public as in his private capacity; and this attachment to truth, which has been too often supposed an incumbrance to ministers in foreign transactions, established his credit, and contributed to his success in many difficult negotiations. He paid great attention to the trade and manufactures of this country. The treatises which he published, and many which he left in manuscript, prove his minute and

HORATIO, FIRST LORD WALPOLE.

extensive knowledge of those subjects. There is scarcely an article of trade, commerce, and manufacture, either native or foreign, on which documents are not found among his papers." Although his political publications must have been extremely numerous, the following are all that can be ascertained to be his:—Considerations on the present state of affairs in Europe, particularly with regard to the number of forces in the pay of Great Britain, 1730—The grand Question, whether war or no war with Spain, impartially considered—the Convention vindicated from the misrepresentations of the enemies of our peace, 1738—The interest of Great Britain steadily pursued, in answer to a Pamphlet intitled "The Case of the Hanover forces impartially and freely examined"—and an Answer to the latter part of Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Study of History, in a series of letters to a Noble Lord, 1763.

Lord Walpole died on the fifth of February, 1757, leaving issue by his Lady, Mary Magdalen, daughter and coheir of Peter Lombard of Burnham Thorpe, in Norfolk, four sons, and three daughters; Horatio, his successor, who was created Earl of Orford in 1806, and was grandfather to the present Earl; Thomas; Richard; and Robert; Mary, wife of Maurice Suckling; Henrietta, and Anne, died unmarried.



Engraved by W. H. Mote

WILLIAM PULTENEY, EARL OF BATH.

OB. 1764.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JERVAS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} LORD NORTHWICK.



WILLIAM PULTENEY,

EARL OF BATH.

THIS eminent person was the representative of a family of respectable antiquity in Leicestershire, which was founded by a wealthy citizen, in the fourteenth century, several of which had sat in Parliament, and, among them, his grandfather, Sir William Pulteney, who represented the city of Westminster, and was a somewhat distinguished speaker of the popular party. Of his father, also William, we have no intelligence, except that he married the daughter of a Mr. Floyd, and our subject was the eldest son of their union.

He was born in the year 1682, and received his education at Westminster School, and afterwards at Christ Church, in Oxford, where the dawn of his future eloquence was already so evident, that Doctor Aldrich, then Dean of the College, selected him to make the complimentary speech, customary on such occasions, to Queen Anne, when she visited the University. He acquired considerable fame there, not only for his talents and attainments, but for the assiduity with which he cultivated them, and, having passed four years at Christ Church, set out on the continental tour usually undertaken by young men of distinction, and on his return, was brought into parliament, through the interest of a Mr. Guy, for the borough of Hedon, in Yorkshire. We have sought in vain to discover the nature of his connexion with that gentleman, who is said to have afterwards left him forty thousand pounds, and a landed estate, and who, to increase the obscurity, is described, in a little pamphlet, published in 1731, with a superficial detail of Mr. Pulteney's public conduct, as "his friend,

WILLIAM PULTENEY,

Sir John Guise, who bequeathed him an estate worth thousands per annum."

He made his outset in public life, young as he was, with all the wariness and care of a prudent man beginning to exercise a trade or profession, and commenced by forming a set of precise rules for his conduct in Parliament, one of which was that a young member ought to speak seldom and shortly, and that the matters of his speech should arise out of the incidental suggestions of the debate; for it was his opinion, which circumstances have since much tended to justify, that those who began by making set and studied speeches scarcely ever became good orators. Thus prepared, he commenced his career, with a decent modesty in appearance, and an excessive ambition in reality, and presently acquired the attention and favour of the House. He enlisted warmly with the Whigs, whose party it seems his ancestors had long espoused, and, soon finding in their approbation his own strength and importance, not only became a frequent and bold speaker on all their chief questions, but was with little delay received into their most secret councils. The part which he took in the prosecution of Sacheverel completely fixed his reputation as a subtle partisan, as well as an eloquent orator, and so obnoxious had he by this time rendered himself to the Tories that, on their succeeding to the administration in 1710, they condescended to a personal resentment of his conduct by removing his uncle, John Pulteney, from the office of a Commissioner of the Board of Trade; a pitiful mark of vengeance, which did but increase the affection of his party, as well as his own growing popularity. He not only opposed that ministry, during the remarkable four last years of Queen Anne, with the utmost bitterness, but engaged with ardour in all the measures, private as well as public, to counteract the endeavours which they had secretly used at that interesting period to defeat the succession of the House of Hanover, and that, not only with his tongue and with his pen, but also with his purse, his affection to which was always known to be his greatest foible.

On the accession of King George the First, these services were presently acknowledged. He was sworn of the Privy Council ; appointed Secretary at War ; and, about the same time, complimented with the commission of Lord Lieutenant, and Custos Rotulorum, of the East Riding of Yorkshire, and of the town and county of Kingston upon Hull. The management, as it has been since called, of the House of Commons now fell, jointly, to himself and Mr. Walpole, afterwards, for so many years, chief minister, who, though no deficient speaker, chiefly employed himself in making political arrangements, while Pulteney charmed the House with the blaze of his eloquence, and the force of his arguments. This division of individual faculties, joined to a common interest, and a partial agreement of tempers, produced a harmony between them which was supposed, and perhaps not altogether unjustly, to partake of actual personal regard ; an opinion which was in a great measure confirmed when, upon Walpole's first resignation of his post of first Lord of the Treasury, on the treacherous dismissal of his friend and relation, Lord Townshend, in 1716, Pulteney immediately relinquished that of Secretary at War.

It is scarcely possible however that a mutual cordiality can long subsist between two persons equally aiming at the same object, especially if the object be political power. Walpole, strengthened by a reconciliation with some lately refractory and important members of the whig party, and armed with increased popularity, as well as power, by having made himself the instrument of healing a quarrel of some standing between the King and the Prince of Wales, formed a new administration in the construction of which Pulteney was not included, nor even consulted. His disgust was already highly excited, when a peerage was offered to him, which he refused, but he dissembled his anger yet for nearly two years, and in the mean time accepted the place of Cofferer of the Household, for which he is said to have descended to solicit. While any hope seemed to remain of obtaining a conspicuous station in the government, he continued to give it his support in

Parliament, but, in proportion to the failure of his patience, his efforts gradually, but evidently cooled, and at length he occasionally appeared in direct opposition. Endeavours were now made to reclaim him, but they came too late. Walpole himself personally told him that, on the death or removal of either of the Secretaries of State, he should be appointed to succeed ; but, after such tedious delay, he disdained the offer of a reversion, and, answering the proposal, which was made in conversation in the House of Commons, merely by a low bow, and a sarcastic smile, went over directly to the Tories, whose leader he presently became, as well as the peculiar and inflexible antagonist of Walpole.

He was of course angrily dismissed from his office, insignificant to such a man, of Cofferer, and it is strange that he should have waited for the indignity ; but his opposition soon assumed so formidable a complexion, that new efforts were used to reconcile him. Upon Lord Townshend's resignation, soon after the death of George the First, the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs was tendered to him, and Queen Caroline herself was made the instrument of again offering him a peerage, but he refused both, candidly assigning as his motive his rooted determination never again to act with Sir Robert Walpole. From this period their mutual aversion seems to have risen into actual hatred, and the vituperative language which passed between them in the House of Commons frequently far exceeded the bounds of good manners. Pulteney indeed, to gratify his resentment, broke all measures of prudence as well as decency, and sacrificed his character to his anger. He connected himself with Lord Bolingbroke, the known leader of the Jacobites, to whom he had always not only professed, but practised, a most bitter enmity ; and became that nobleman's chief ally in the composition of the periodical paper called " the Craftsman," in which he loaded the Minister even with more invective than in his speeches. His essays in that paper provoked answers in pamphlets equally scurrilous, one of which, having been ascribed by him to Lord Hervey, a member of the ministry, whom he had therefore vilified and ridiculed in his reply, pro-

duced a duel between himself and that nobleman, in which the latter was wounded.

His intemperance in such publications was at length seriously noticed in a higher quarter. He had written a pamphlet, much celebrated at the time, with the title of "An answer to one part of a late infamous libel, entitled 'Remarks on the Craftsman's vindication of his two honourable patrons, in which the character and conduct of Mr. P. is fully vindicated.'" In this, blinded by his vengeance against Walpole, he ungenerously betrayed some particulars of a private conversation in which that minister had once uttered to him certain contemptuous expressions against the King, when Prince of Wales. The blow which he had so aimed at Walpole recoiled on himself. The King, with the magnanimity which has always distinguished his family, ordered that the printer should be prosecuted; struck Pulteney's name out of the Council Book with his own hand; and deprived him of his station of Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding of Yorkshire. This, as may be supposed, by no means diminished the violence of his anger, which ceased but with the life of his great antagonist, while it certainly increased to the utmost the popularity of which he had possessed a more than common share during almost the whole of his political career. This advantage, however, if it may be so called, he had the misfortune for many years to outlive. Upon the change of administration, on the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, in 1741, he was again sworn of the Privy Council, appointed Lord Lieutenant of the county of Salop, and on the thirteenth of July, in the following year, was created Baron of Hedon, in the county of York; Viscount Pulteney, of Wrington, in Somersetshire; and Earl of Bath. From the moment that he accepted those dignities he sunk in the estimation of all ranks, and it would be difficult to say whether he was more vehemently assailed by the wit of his politer adversaries, or the folly of the vulgar thousands by whom he had been for many years almost worshipped. With the exception of two or three feeble attempts again to interfere in affairs, the rest of his life was passed nearly in privacy.

WILLIAM PULTENEY,

Were it consistent with the usage of this work, we would gladly leave the character of this nobleman wholly untouched. It shall be given in the words of his two eminent contemporaries.

Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, tells us lightly that his writings will be better known by his name than his name will be by his writings, though his prose had much effect, and his verses, for he was a poet, were easy and graceful. "Both," adds the noble author, "were occasional, and not dedicated to the love of fame ; good humour, and the spirit of society, dictated his poetry ; ambition and acrimony his political writings : the latter made Pope say

‘ How many *Martials* were in Pulteney lost !’

That loss, however, was amply compensated to the world by the odes to which Lord Bath’s political conduct gave birth. The pen of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams inflicted deeper wounds in three months on this Lord than a series of *Craftsmen*, aided by Lord Bolingbroke, for several years could imprint on Sir Robert Walpole. The latter lost his power, but lived to see justice done to his character : his rival acquired no power, but died—very rich.”

When we recollect who was the father of the noble author of these touches, they should not be deemed uncharitable : there are, however, several detached anecdotes in Lord Orford’s works of a more severe order, which it is not necessary to collect, as the substance of them is comprised in the following solemn and extended report of Lord Chesterfield.

“Mr. Pulteney was formed by nature for social and convivial pleasures ; resentment made him engage in business. He had thought himself slighted by Sir Robert Walpole, to whom he publicly avowed not only revenge, but utter destruction. He had lively and shining parts ; a surprising quickness of wit ; and a happy turn to the most amusing and entertaining kinds of poetry, as epigrams, ballads, odes, &c., in all which he had an uncommon facility. His compositions in that way were sometimes satirical, often licentious, but always full of wit. He had a quick and clear conception of business ; could equally detect and practise

EARL OF BATH.

sophistry ; he could state and explain the most intricate matters, even in figures, with the utmost perspicuity. His parts were rather above business, and the warmth of his imagination, joined to the impetuosity and restlessness of his temper, made him incapable of conducting it long together with prudence and steadiness. He was a most complete orator and debater in the House of Commons—eloquent, entertaining, persuasive, strong, and pathetic, as occasion required ; for he had argument, wit, and tears, at his command. His breast was the seat of all those passions which degrade our nature, and disturb our reason : there they raged in a perpetual conflict ; but avarice, the meanest of them all, generally triumphed ; ruled absolutely ; and in many instances, which I forbear to mention, most scandalously.”

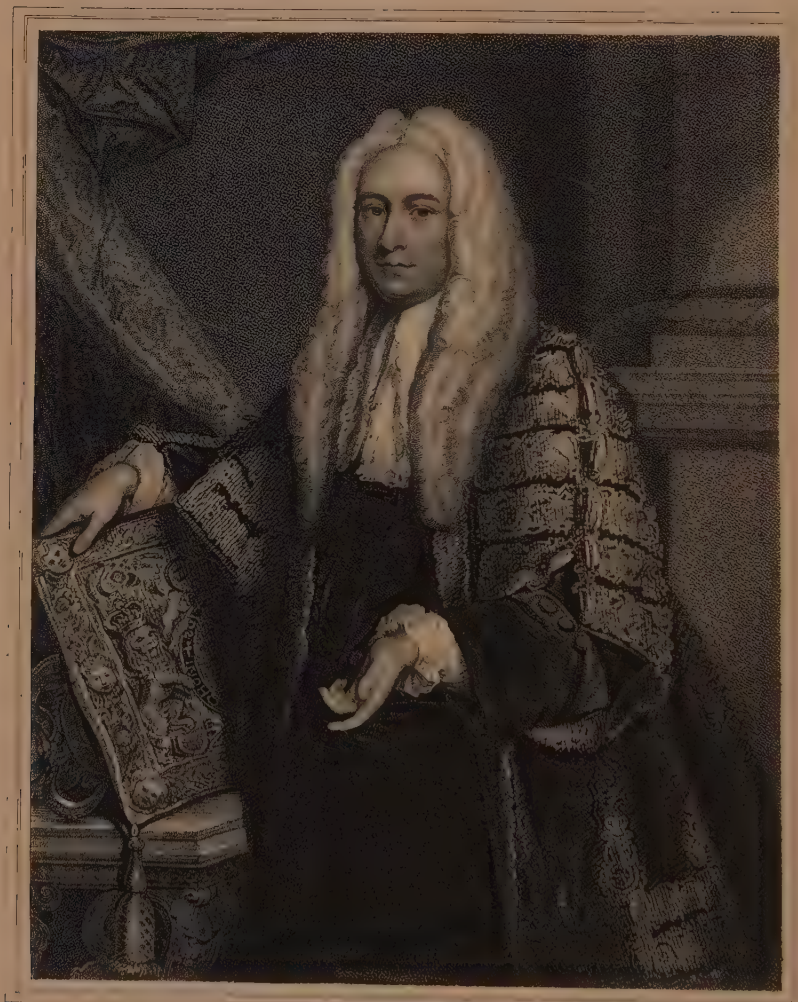
The charge of avarice—scandalous avarice, to use Lord Chesterfield’s epithet, is strongly supported by an anecdote too remarkable not to be here particularized, and too well authenticated to permit any doubt of its truth. The Duchess of Buckingham, a natural daughter of James the Second, was, as might be expected, at the head of the Jacobite ladies of England. She was enthusiastic in her attachment to the descendants of that Prince, and with so little caution that she frequently exposed herself to the danger of impeachment. On one of those occasions, she made over her estates, in a fright, to Mr. Pulteney, and went to Rome, till the cloud should have passed away. When she returned, she demanded the deed which she had in confidence signed, and left with him, when he declared that he could not find it, and put her off so long with that answer that she became alarmed and clamorous, and disclosed the matter to her intimates. At length one of them, who was a friend also of Pulteney’s, told him plainly, that “he could never show his face unless he satisfied the Duchess,” upon which he executed a release to her of her estates, in due form of law.

“His sudden passion,” continues Lord Chesterfield, “was outrageous, but supported by great personal courage. Nothing exceeded his ambition but his avarice : they often accompany, and

WILLIAM PULTENEY, EARL OF BATH.

are frequently and reciprocally the causes and the effects of each other, but the latter is always a clog upon the former. He affected good-nature and compassion, and perhaps his heart might feel the misfortunes and distresses of his fellow-creatures, but his hand was seldom stretched out to relieve them. He was once in the greatest point of view that I ever saw any subject in.—When the opposition, of which he was the leader in the House of Commons, prevailed at last against Sir Robert Walpole, he became the arbiter between the Crown and the people; the former imploring his protection, the latter his support. In that critical moment his various jarring passions were in the highest ferment, and for a while suspended his ruling one. Sense of shame made him hesitate at turning courtier on a sudden, after having acted the patriot so long, and with so much applause; and his pride made him declare that he would accept of no place, vainly imagining that he could, by such simulated and temporary self-denial, preserve his popularity, and his power at court. He was mistaken in both—the King hated him almost as much for what he might have done as for what he had done; and a motley ministry was formed, who by no means desired his company; the nation looked upon him as a deserter, and he shrunk into insignificancy and an earldom. I may, perhaps, be suspected,” adds Chesterfield, “to have given too high colouring to some features of this portrait; but I solemnly protest that I have drawn it conscientiously, and to the best of my knowledge, from very long acquaintance with, and observation of, the original; nay, I have rather softened than heightened the colouring.”

The Earl of Bath died on the eighth of July, 1764, at the age of eighty-two, having had by his wife, Anna-Maria, one of the daughters and co-heirs of John Gumley, Commissary and Muster Master General to the army, three children, all of whom he had the misfortune to survive; William, who died in infancy; another William, Viscount Pulteney, who died at Madrid, unmarried, in 1763; and a daughter, Anna Maria, also unmarried.



Engraved by W. L. 1790

PHILIP YORKE, EARL OF HARDWICKE.

OB. 1764.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE, BY J. H. 1790.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE, BY J. H. 1790.

PHILIP YORKE,

FIRST EARL OF HARDWICKE

ONE of the most distinguished ornaments to British jurisprudence that the history of this country can produce, was the only son of a gentleman of his own names, who practised the law for many years with good reputation at Dover, by Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Richard Gibbon, a descendant from a highly respectable family which had been long seated on its own estates at Westcliffe, in the neighbourhood of that town. Those who, in their envy of distinguished merit, or rather of the brilliant rewards which it sometimes obtains, will descend to use even the basest weapons, have invented various reports of the meanness of this nobleman's extraction. The truth is, that his grandfather, Simon Yorke, also of Dover, who came from Calne, in Wiltshire, and is believed to have sprung from a branch of the Yorkes, of Richmond, in the county of York, possessed good landed property in Kent, which has descended to, and is still possessed by, his male heirs. The accomplished writer who some years since condescended to give us a new edition of the Peerage, alluding to these slanders, says—"His own merit justly stands in the place of an host of ancestors; it has hitherto therefore been deemed sufficient to begin the pedigree with this great man; but it seems something like defrauding the dead of their rights to withhold from them the honour of having produced

so illustrious a descendant. This false delicacy has had a different effect from that which was intended: it has served to sanction silly rumours which perhaps it was designed to suppress by a contemptuous silence: The family of this celebrated nobleman, if of no particular lustre either from titles or estates, was neither mean, insignificant in point of property, nor unrespectable in alliances. From them therefore if he borrowed no splendour, from them he derived no disgrace."

He was born at Dover, on the first of December, 1690, and educated under the care of a Mr. Samuel Morland, of Bethnal Green, who was the intimate friend of the celebrated Dr. Samuel Clarke, and had then the fame of being one of the best read and most ingenious scholars of his time. He left that instructor not only deeply skilled in the learned languages, but with a nicety of classical taste which he is said to have indulged in and exercised even amidst his most arduous and important employments. Having always been designed for the bar, he was removed at an early age to the tuition of an eminent conveyancer of the name of Salkeld, who, it may be worth observing, had also at the same time as pupils three youths, Jocelyn, Parker, and Strange, who afterwards became respectively, Chancellor of Ireland, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Master of the Rolls. During his stay here it happened that Sir Thomas Parker, afterwards Earl of Macclesfield, and Lord Chancellor, but at that time Chief Justice of the King's Bench, requested Mr. Salkeld to recommend to him a young gentleman qualified to instruct his son in the principles of the English laws, and Mr. Yorke, who was the party named by Salkeld, was immediately accepted. In his performance of this office, his early professional skill, as well as his extraordinary general talents, were presently observed and admired by the father, while, combined with the most amiable of tempers, they produced a strict intimacy and friendship with the son. Under these auspices he studied the law in the Middle Temple, and was called to the bar in the year 1714.

He rose immediately into the most extensive course of practice,

FIRST EARL OF HARDWICKE.

and, having in the mean time become known to the Duke of Newcastle, who, though some years younger than himself, already looked forward to that exalted station in the direction of public affairs which he afterwards for so many years held, was, by the interest of that nobleman, returned member for Lewes, in Sussex, as he was also for Seaford, in the same county, in the two succeeding Parliaments. Such was now his reputation, as well as his proficiency, that before he had fully attained the age of thirty, and when he was the youngest barrister on the western circuit, his friend, the Lord Chancellor Parker, recommended him for the office of Solicitor-general, to which he was appointed on the twenty-third of March, 1719—20, and soon after knighted. In this, as indeed in all others, he acquired high distinction, particularly in the trial of Mr. Laver, at the King's Bench bar, in November, 1722, for high treason. His reply on this occasion, which occupied more than two hours in the delivery, and in which he summed up late at night the evidence against the prisoner, and ably confuted all the topics of defence, challenged and obtained the highest and most justly merited admiration. About the same time he astonished the House of Commons by his strength of judgment, and acuteness of observation, in his opening of the bill against Mr. Kelly, secretary to Bishop Atterbury, and the principal agent in that prelate's political designs.

On the thirty-first of January, 1723—4, he was promoted to the station of Attorney-general, and had soon after a painful opportunity of proving his affection and gratitude to the Lord Macclesfield. On that nobleman's impeachment, not less regardless of ministerial censure, or of the probable charge of imprudence on the part of his own friends, than of popular clamour, he defended in the House of Commons the fallen Chancellor, particularly against the rough attacks of his bitter enemy, Serjeant Pengelly, on his Lordship's manner of answering the articles of impeachment, and on his plea of the act of grace, with a zeal which proved that the powers of his mind were fully equalled by the warmth of his heart. In the execution of the important office of

PHILIP YORKE,

Attorney-general, says an anonymous contemporary writer in the *Annual Register* for 1764, who evidently knew him well, "he was remarkable for his candour and lenity. As an advocate for the Crown he spoke with the veracity of a witness and a judge; and, though his zeal for justice and the due course of law was strong, yet his tenderness to the subject in the Court of Exchequer was so distinguished, that it happened once, when he touched upon his own conduct in that point, in some of the parliamentary debates upon the excise, in 1733, the whole House of Commons assented to it with an universal applause. He was so unmoved by fear or favour in what he thought right and legal, that he often debated and voted against the Court." In making this latter assertion the author more particularly alludes to his conduct in the House of Commons as to the affairs of the South Sea Company; and, afterwards, on a bill which he introduced to regulate the management of the forfeited estates of the Earl of Derwentwater, in a mode contrary to the declared opinions of most of the ministers of the day.

He remained in the post of Attorney-general for ten years, when, on the resignation, in October, 1733, of the Lord Chancellor King, public opinion, and indeed the ordinary usage of legal advancement, pointed to him as the successor. It is however a curious fact, that, the Crown and Government seeming indifferent which of two most able and faithful servants to place in that exalted office, it was in a manner left to be settled in friendly negotiation between themselves, when himself, and Sir Charles Talbot, the Solicitor-general, agreed that it would be more serviceable, under some peculiar circumstances of the period, to the public, and more honourable mutually to their own characters, that the latter should succeed to it; and Sir Philip Yorke accordingly waved his claim, for the time, to the seal, and accepted the Chief Justiceship of the King's Bench, which happened also then to be vacant. It is remarkable too on this occasion that it was proposed to augment the salary of the chief of that court from two to four thousand pounds, and that he refused to accept the increase. He

FIRST EARL OF HARDWICKE.

was appointed on the thirty-first of October, 1733, and on the twenty-third of the succeeding month was advanced to the Peerage, by the title of Baron Hardwicke, of Hardwicke, in the county of Gloucester. In his new station he acquired a new reputation, for the candour and sincerity of the Bench display without reserve those characters of nature which the artifices of the bar invariably suppress, or leave doubtful, and love and esteem for the man became now added to respect for the wisdom and learning of the judge. He is said indeed to have been a pattern of humanity, patience, and courteousness.

He presided in the Court of King's Bench little more than two years, for his friend Lord Chancellor Talbot dying on the seventeenth of February, 1736—7, the King, four days after, delivered to him the Great Seal. From this period, through the long series of years for which Providence permitted him to remain a blessing to his country, the events of his life were chiefly confined to the performance of the duties of his court, and the transactions of the cabinet. His name, as indeed could not but be expected, is to be found in all the commissions of the reign of George the Second appointing Lords Justices for the administration of the executive government during the occasional absences of that Prince in Germany. So too, almost as of course, we find him sitting as Lord High Steward of England in 1746, on the trials of the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and Lord Balmerino; and again, in the following year, on that of the Lord Lovat. On the thirty-first of July, 1749, he was elected High Steward of the University of Cambridge, and, on the second of April, 1754, received the final reward of his long and eminent services, in an unsolicited grant of the further dignities of Viscount Royston, and Earl of Hardwicke. In November, 1756, from no party disagreement, from no personal pique, with no secret views, but from the mere desire of that ease to which he was now so justly entitled, he resigned his high office, with the same dignified modesty which had always distinguished him in the exercise of its faculties.

The Annual Register, which has been lately quoted to illustrate

some part of this sketch, proceeds to give a comprehensive view of the whole of this great man's character, probably from the pen of Edmund Burke himself, who is well known to have been then, as well as for some years before and after, the editor of that very respectable publication.—It is under this impression that I give the passages as I find them, without presuming to vary a single expression—

“ His resignation of the Great Seal gave an universal concern to the nation, however divided at that time in other respects: but he still continued to serve the public in a more private station, though he had it in his choice, both in the last and present reign, whether he would again fill other public offices of high dignity. His attendance at council whenever his presence was necessary; at more private meetings whenever his opinion was desired; in the House of Lords upon every occasion where the course of public business required it; were the same as when he filled one of the highest offices in the kingdom. He had a pleasure in giving the full exertion of his abilities to the state, without expecting or receiving any emoluments, of any kind whatever, and he seemed only to have quitted the laborious details of the Chancery that he might be at more leisure to attend to such parts of the public service as were of more general use to the community. His reverence for the laws and constitution of his country was equal to his extensive learning in them. This rendered him as tender of the just prerogatives invested in the Crown for the benefit of the whole, as watchful to prevent the least encroachment upon the liberty of the subject. In the character of a statesman, his knowledge of mankind, his acquaintance with history and treaties, both ancient and modern, added to his long experience, penetration, and superior understanding, enabled him to decide with force and exactness upon all the questions in which he was consulted by his colleagues in other branches of the administration; and he had a peculiar talent of analysing such questions by stating the arguments on both sides in a comprehensive and pointed view.”

“ In judicature, his firmness and dignity were evidently derived

FIRST EARL OF HARDWICKE.

from his consummate knowledge and talents; and the mildness and humanity with which he tempered it" (them) "from the best heart. He was wonderfully happy in his manner of debating causes upon the bench, which he did copiously and elaborately. His apprehension was so quick and steady that it was unnecessary to repeat facts or reasonings which had once been stated to him, a second time. His attention to the arguments from the bar was so close, and so undisturbed by impatience, or any passion or affection of his mind, that he condescended to learn from the meanest, whilst he every day instructed and surprised the ablest. He gave the utmost scope to the objections which pressed strongest against his opinion, and often improved them: but his judgment was so correct and excellent that even his unpremeditated opinions were generally acknowledged to be profound, and to turn upon the best points which the cause afforded; and would bear examination when reduced into written reports. His extraordinary dispatch of the business of the Court of Chancery, increased as it was in his time beyond what had been known in any former, was an advantage to the suitor inferior only to that arising from the acknowledged equity, perspicuity, and precision of his decrees. The integrity and abilities with which he presided there, during the space of almost twenty years, appears from this remarkable circumstance—that only three of his decrees were appealed from, and even those were afterwards affirmed by the House of Lords.

"His talents as a speaker in the senate, as well as on the bench, have left too strong an impression to need being dilated on to those who had often heard him. To their memories it will be sufficient to recall that whenever Lord Hardwicke delivered his sentiments in public, he spoke with a natural and manly eloquence, unsullied by false ornaments, declamatory flourishes, or personal invectives. He had a method and arrangement in his topics which gradually interested, enlightened, and convinced the hearer. When he quoted precedents of any kind, either in law, history, or the forms of Parliament, he applied them with the greatest skill, and at the same time with the greatest fairness; and whenever

PHILIP YORKE, FIRST EARL OF HARDWICKE.

he argued, his reasons were supported and strengthened by the most apposite cases and examples which the subject would allow. In questions of state and policy he drew his principles from the ablest authorities in legislation and the art of government ; and in questions of jurisprudence, from the purest sources of the laws and constitution of his own country, and, when the occasion called for it, of others. His manner was graceful and affecting ; modest, yet commanding ; his voice peculiarly clear and harmonious, and even loud and strong, for the greater part of his time. With those talents of public speaking, the integrity of his character gave a lustre to his eloquence, which those who opposed him felt in the debate, and which operated most powerfully on the minds of those who heard him with a view to information and conviction ; and it were to be wished, for the sake of posterity, that his speeches on a variety of important points of law, equity, and policy, were preserved in a more lasting register than that of the memories of his contemporaries. Convinced of the great principles of religion, and steady in the practice of the duties of it, he maintained a reputation of virtue which added dignity to the stations which he filled, and authority to the laws which he administered."

This admirable nobleman died on the sixth of March, 1764. By his lady, who departed about two years before him, Margaret, daughter of Charles Cocks, of the city of Worcester, by Mary, his wife, a sister of the Lord Chancellor Somers, he had five sons ; Philip, his successor ; Charles, father to the present noble Earl ; Joseph, who was created Lord Dover ; John ; and James, who died Bishop of Ely : Lord Hardwicke had also two daughters ; Elizabeth, married to George, first Lord Anson ; and Margaret, to Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Bart.



Engraved by W. Hall.

THOMAS PELHAM, DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

OB. 1768.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOARE, IN THE COLLECTION OF
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

THOMAS PELHAM HOLLES,

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

WITHOUT wisdom to guide, or temper to submit to advice ; with an insatiable inclination to govern, but without the dignity of mind or manners to induce respect ; at once rash and timid ; ever jealous and suspicious, yet idly and unnecessarily communicative ; fond to excess of the transaction of affairs, but incapable of method and arrangement ; the Duke of Newcastle for nearly half a century filled the highest offices in the state, and actually shared in ruling the destinies of Europe. This strange anomaly arose from various causes, of which these were the principal—from the importance to the whig party of having for their leader a man of the highest rank, and most powerful personal influence, and of maintaining him in the administration of the government ; from the aid of a most affectionate and rational brother, his colleague, who, unknown to him, tempered his extravagances, and was ever on the watch to lend him sagacity and prudence ; and, lastly, from his own native honour and honesty, whose pure brightness frequently dazzled the keenest-sighted, and daunted the boldest of his adversaries.

He was the eldest son and heir of Sir Thomas Pelham, of Hal-land, in Sussex, Baronet, representative of one of the most ancient and powerful families of gentry in that county, by his second lady, Grace, fourth and youngest daughter of Gilbert Holles, third Earl of Clare, and sister and coheir to John, his eldest son, who was in 1694 created Duke of Newcastle, and was born on the first of

soothed his brother into condescension to keep the seals ; but what is this to us or to posterity ?—such however is the miserable sterility of the history of public men in that time, that it lifts even such a circumstance into comparative consequence.

A more serious cause of chagrin soon after occurred. George the Second, alarmed for the safety of his favourite Hanover, which the French and Bavarians were on the point of invading, abandoned suddenly the interests of the House of Austria, so warmly espoused by him, and agreed to disarm the troops which he had raised for its support, and to sign a treaty of neutrality. This negociation had been conducted at Hanover by the King himself, without consulting his ministers at home, a cause of offence which the Duke justly felt, in common with them ; but what must have been the degree of his peculiar mortification when he discovered that the King's private letter to Sir Robert Walpole, announcing the arrangement, had been delivered to, and read in his presence by, that minister, without making the slightest communication to him of the contents ? Newcastle became outrageous at this palpable slight, and vented his anger in intemperate expressions, not only against Walpole, but against the King himself, whom he proposed in a manner to inculcate by an appeal from the English Cabinet to every Court of Europe. He again resolved to resign, and was again, but with much more difficulty, pacified by the arguments of the same mediators.

His resentments, as is usual with men of his temperament, were not less transient than violent. He was soon reconciled to Walpole, and, after that minister's retirement, he had the credit of forming the administration which succeeded. In this work however, which was full of difficulties, he was guided almost wholly by the secret advice of Walpole himself, whose policy indeed in a great measure governed the country for the remainder of his life. The Duke still held his post of Secretary of State for the southern department, and with his brother, who had hitherto filled no higher station than that of Paymaster-general of the army, but who had now prudently refused the office of Chancellor

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

of the Exchequer, resolved to wait patiently for the breaking up of a ministry that even already, in the hour of its inauguration, betrayed symptoms of decay which promised them proportionate advantages. They contented themselves in the interval by generously defending their friend, for such he really was, the fallen Premier, from the repeated Parliamentary attacks which threatened him with impeachment, and by a steady adoption of his favourite principles of policy. The ministry was deranged, but not wholly dissolved, by an unexpected event, the death, in the summer of 1743, of Lord Wilmington, who, after a short struggle with that remarkable partisan, Pulteney, now Earl of Bath, for the royal preference, was succeeded in the office of first Lord of the Treasury by Henry Pelham, who was soon after appointed also Chancellor of the Exchequer. The influence of the brothers was now consummated, with the exception only of a rivalry between the Duke and his brother Secretary of State, Lord Carteret, whose political notions differed widely from theirs, and whose personal favour with the King rendered him yet more distasteful to them.

That Prince seems indeed to have been never very cordial with them, particularly with the Duke, during the whole of the long period of his service, and such of that nobleman's letters as have appeared abound with complaints of the harshness with which he was frequently treated by his master; nor was this the mere result of infirmity of temper, but in some measure of a degree of settled and habitual disgust, arising from a frequent clashing of opinions. The Duke, though by no means deficient in flattery, seems always to have spoken frankly and boldly to the King on public affairs, and occasionally contradicted even his strongest inclinations, of which his constant opposition to the employment of Hanoverian troops and his lukewarmth as to the vigorous prosecution of the war, afford striking proofs. At length the King determined, even amidst the confusion caused by the rebellion of 1745, to employ Lord Bath, and Carteret, who had now succeeded to the title of Earl Granville, to form a new administration; of which the Pelhams had no sooner obtained certain

intelligence than they anticipated his plan by a resignation, in which they were followed by the largest train of official friends that perhaps had ever before graced a ministerial retirement. Never was public regret more strongly excited than on this occasion. All ranks united in testifying their affection and respect to the brothers ; and even the Duke of Cumberland, whose duty to his father was remarkable, and who had just now added to his weight in public affairs the highest degree of popularity, expressed those sentiments most unreservedly in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, of the sixteenth of February, 1746. The King however persisted, but few of the new servants had even accepted their appointments, when Lord Bath waited on him to express his doubts of a sufficient majority in the House of Commons, and his consequent wish to revoke his late engagements. His Majesty immediately sent to the Duke and Mr. Pelham, desiring them to re-assume their offices ; they requested and obtained from him a public proof of his inclination to replace them ; removed all those who had been so lately admitted ; and triumphantly returned, with their friends, to their former stations.

In the summer of 1748 the Duke, for the first time, attended his Majesty to Hanover. Two motives induced him to forego on this occasion his strange aversion even to the shortest sea voyage—the view of lessening, by a daily familiar intercourse, the King's personal coldness towards him, and a jealous apprehension that, were the other Secretary of State, the Duke of Bedford, to have undertaken that duty, the same advantage might have been cultivated by that nobleman to his prejudice. His expedition produced nothing personally remarkable, unless a squabble between his Grace and Mr. Legge, the British envoy at Berlin, occasioned by the King's desire to secure the bishopric of Osnaburg to the Duke of Cumberland, may be so considered. Legge was recalled and reinstated through the mediation of Mr. Pelham, who, as usual on such occasions, also pacified his brother. On the variety of political affairs which he transacted during his stay on the Continent nothing need here be said, but that his conduct

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

in them seems to have been highly satisfactory to his master. Immediately on his return, in the beginning of the winter, he was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, in preference to the Prince of Wales, by whom he was hated, and who is said to have suffered, as it was intended he should, a severe mortification by that event.

The return of the Duke to England was the signal for a renewal of domestic discord. The Duke of Bedford, the other Secretary of State, with whose indolence, and inattention to public business he was already disgusted, had now excited his jealousy by an acquisition of increased favour and intimacy with the Duke of Cumberland, and his sister the Princess Amelia. Lord Sandwich, to whom he had been a zealous patron, but from whom he had received some umbrage during that nobleman's late negotiation of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, had obtained there the good graces of the royal Duke, and on his return had attached himself to the Duke of Bedford. Newcastle thought he saw in these circumstances clear traces of a combination against him, when, to confirm his suspicions, the Duke of Cumberland suddenly condescended to tender his good offices towards effecting a reconciliation between the jealous minister and Sandwich; but such however was the degree of ire which transported the former that he insulted his Royal Highness by returning no kind of answer to his proposal; while, to avenge himself of the Princess, he transferred those respectful attentions which she was used to receive from him to the King's mistress, the Countess of Yarmouth, who soon after treated him with indifference and neglect. After incessant indirect endeavours to compass the removal of the Duke of Bedford, and in the midst of these feuds, he was again called on to attend his master to the Continent, whither he went, leaving his brother to do his best towards composing them. This Pelham vainly attempted, and at last, sorely against his will, was prevailed on, soon after the King's return, explicitly to solicit him to deprive that nobleman of the seals, and was flatly refused. Newcastle now became outrageous; charged his brother with having betrayed

him to his enemies ; and at last forced him into a quarrel so serious as to prevent for some time their speaking to each other, except on public business. Their reconciliation was by a treaty, in due diplomatic form, of three articles, dictated by the Duke, who probably abided by them as long as he remained in good humour.

The sudden death of the Prince of Wales, father of George the Third, in 1751, and the attention required by affairs consequent on that event, not only suspended for a while these discreditable broils, but produced in effect those events which the Duke had so earnestly sought. In the conclusion of that year, Lord Sandwich was dismissed from his post of first Lord of the Admiralty, and the Duke of Bedford immediately resigned, in an audience distinguished by the bitter invectives against his adversary which he allowed himself to utter to the King. In the following year the Duke of Newcastle was again plunged, with his Majesty, for several weeks, into the misery of German politics ; and, on his return, proposed, and earnestly forwarded, the bill for the naturalization of the Jews, the repeal of which he was obliged, in compliance with popular prejudice, to consent to in the succeeding session. The greatest misfortune of his life was now at hand—the death, on the sixth of March, 1754, of his brother Mr. Pelham ; a minister inferior to many in brilliancy of design, and in boldness of execution ; in plain solid sense, and in strict honesty, to none. Five days after, the King nominated the Duke of Newcastle his successor, who was hardy enough to accept the charge. The haughtiness of Mr. Pitt prevented the new minister from placing him in the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer ; and the pliancy of Mr. Fox emboldened the Duke to offer it to him, with so many restrictions that he was ashamed to accept it. These distinguished rivals to each other therefore joined in opposition against him, and Mr. Henry Bilson Legge was appointed to the office.

The loss of Mr. Pelham was now severely felt, and the story of the two years in which the Duke occupied, without filling, his place, presents a mere blank to all but those who can behold with

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

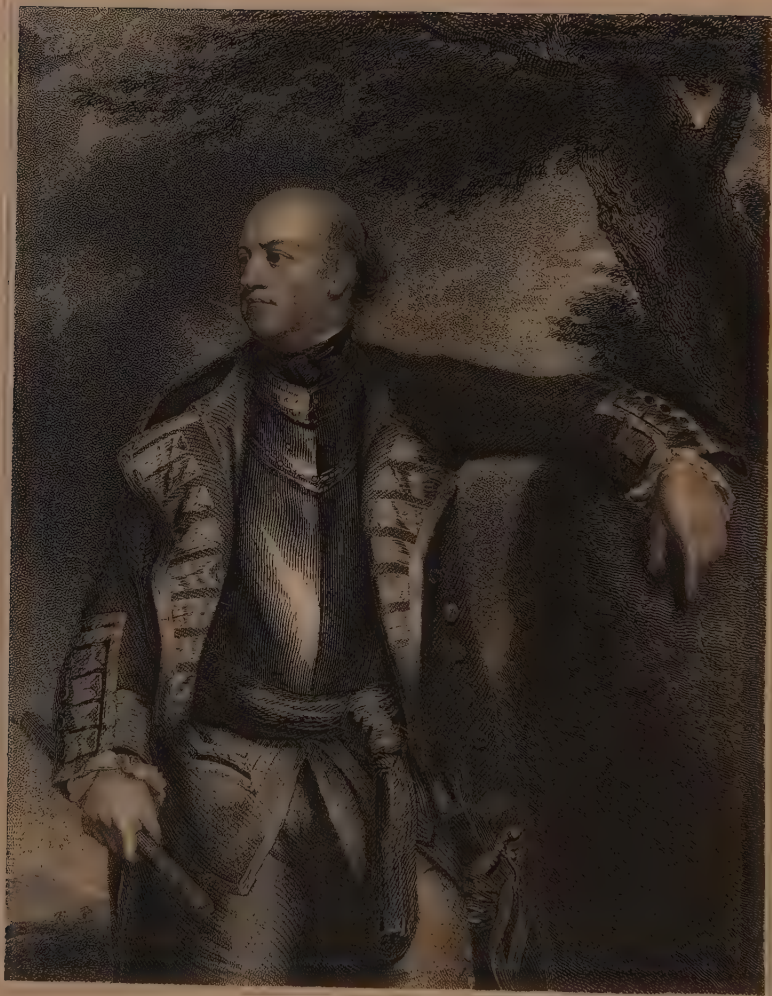
complacency innumerable intrigues and meannesses, too minute to be discerned by the eye of history, as well as too trifling and scandalous to be recorded by its pen—the discredited government of a great nation, and the debasement to which the highest cultivated human nature will submit in the indulgence of unrestrained selfishness. Newcastle resigned on the eleventh of November, 1756, amidst quarrels which he had not temper to reconcile, and weakness which he wanted vigour to corroborate; and affected to retire cheerfully to a dignified privacy, but to this neither his nature nor his habits could submit. From the hour of his retreat he laboured incessantly in the prosecution of multifarious schemes and negociations for his return; and at length, on the second of July, in the following year, he was replaced at the head of the Treasury, from the same motives and considerations which so many years before had first made him a minister of State. There he remained yet five years longer, lending a great name, and impatiently submitting to the master mind, and general ministerial domination, of Mr. Pitt. To the rule of Lord Bute however he could not so implicitly condescend, and, after an obstinate dispute with that nobleman, soon after his elevation, on his refusing his consent to continue the payment of the King of Prussia's subsidy, waited immediately on the King, and finally resigned, on the second of May, 1762.

The character of this remarkable nobleman has been thus drawn, perhaps with almost as much justice as a bitter hatred could permit, by the pen of Lord Orford.—“The Duke of Newcastle had no pride, yet infinite self-love. Jealousy was the great source of all his faults. He always caressed his enemies, to list them against his friends. There was no service he would not do for either, till either was above being served by him; then he would suspect they did not love him enough, for the moment they had every reason to love him, he took every method to obtain their hate by exerting all his power for their ruin. There was no expense to which he was not addicted but generosity. His houses, gardens, table, and equipage, swallowed immense treasures. The

THOMAS PELHAM HOLLES, DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

sums he owed were only exceeded by those he wasted. He loved business immoderately, yet was only always doing it—never did it. His speeches in Council and Parliament were flowing, and copious of words, but empty and unmeaning; his professions extravagant, for he would profess intentions of doing more service to many men than he even did hurt to others. Always inquisitive to know what was said of him, he wasted in curiosity the time in which he might have earned praise. He aimed at everything: endeavoured nothing. Fear, a predominant fear, was predominant in him: he would venture the overthrow of the Government, and hazard his life and fortunes, rather than open a letter that might discover a plot. He was a Secretary of State without intelligence, a Duke without money, a man of infinite intrigue without secrecy or policy, and a minister despised and hated by his master, by all parties and ministers, without being turned out by any.”

The Duke of Newcastle died on the seventeenth of November, 1768, leaving no issue by his lady, who has been already mentioned. On his quitting therefore the administration in 1756, he received, on the thirteenth of November in that year, a second patent creating him Duke of Newcastle-under-Line, with remainder to Henry Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, husband to Catherine, daughter and coheir to the Duke's late brother, the Right Honourable Henry Pelham; and, on the fourth of May, 1762, a grant also of the title of Baron Pelham, of Stanmer, in Sussex, with remainder to Thomas Pelham, of the same place, Esq.; the former of which dignities is now enjoyed by the present Duke of Newcastle; the latter by the Earl of Chichester.



Engraved by H. Robinson

JOHN MANNERS, MARQUIS OF GRANBY.

OB. 1770.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

JOHN MANNERS,

MARQUIS OF GRANBY.

THIS nobleman, so justly famed for his bravery and generosity, which were equalled only by the sweetness of his temper and the kindness of his heart, was the eldest son and heir apparent of John Manners, third Duke of Rutland, by Bridget, only daughter and heir of Robert Sutton, second and last Lord Lexington, and was born on the second of January, 1721, N. S. It would be idle to speak of the mode of education of persons of his birth and prospects in the last century, for it was, as it remains, one and the same in all. Almost as needless therefore is it to observe that he became a member of the lower House of Parliament as soon as he had reached the age prescribed, or perhaps earlier. He was first elected for the town of Grantham, which he represented also in the two following Parliaments; and afterwards sat for the county of Cambridge, without intermission, for the remainder of his life. In the rebellion of 1745, he raised a regiment of infantry, at the head of which he served in Scotland, and was engaged, with distinction, at the decisive battle of Culloden; and to these circumstances may be ascribed almost with certainty his inclination to the military profession, into which he immediately entered, and remained actively employed till the year of his death. Having passed through the usual gradations of junior rank, he received, on the fourth of March, 1755, the commission of Major General; in May, 1758, was appointed Colonel of the royal regiment of horse guards; and, on the fifth of February, 1759, was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General.

Passing over a variety of previous minor services, we will observe that at the battle of Minden, on the first of August, in the year last named, an action rendered even more remarkable by a collateral circumstance than by the splendid success which attended it, he was second in command of the British and Hanoverian Horse, under Lord George Sackville. The singular conduct of that nobleman, in a disobedience of orders which afterwards became the subject of inquiry by a court martial, produced, in an expression of the resentment of the commander of the army, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the highest compliment to Lord Granby, in the subsequent general orders—"His Serene Highness," say they, "further orders it to be declared to Lieutenant-General the Marquis of Granby, that he is persuaded that, if he had had the good fortune to have him at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, his presence would have contributed to make the decision of that day more complete, and more brilliant." Certainly his conduct on the occasion in question exhibited a striking contrast to that of his superior, for, while he hesitated whether to comply with the Prince's command to march to the charge, his own orders to Lord Granby, who was flying to the field, to halt, were twice disobeyed. On the twenty-fifth of the same month the Marquis was appointed to succeed Lord George as "Commander-in-Chief of all his Majesty's forces then serving in Germany under Prince Ferdinand," and to the station, which he had also held, of Lieutenant General of the Ordnance. These eminent persons had never been on terms of cordiality, but Lord Granby, who returned for a while to give his evidence on the trial of his enemy, "showed," says Lord Orford, in his memoirs of the reign of George the Second, "an honorable and compassionate tenderness; so far from exaggerating the minutest circumstance, he palliated or suppressed whatever might load the prisoner, and seemed to study nothing but how to avoid appearing a party against him; so inseparable in his bosom were valour and goodness."

This proceeding concluded, the Marquis returned to the army

MARQUIS OF GRANBY.

in time for the successful battle of Warburg, which was fought on the thirtieth of July, 1760, and in which he gained signal honour; and in that of Phillinghausen, the favourable event of the day may be wholly ascribed to himself, and the troops then under his immediate command, as well as in the affair of Wilhelmstahl, which occurred soon after. "Towards the end of the war," says an anonymous writer who had served under him, "when the army was so situated that, if a rising ground on the left had been taken possession of by the French, it might have been attended by the worst consequences; and when the Generals destined to lead a corps to occupy it declared the service impracticable; Lord Granby arose from a sick bed, in the middle of the night; assumed the command of the corps; marched, with a fever upon him, in an inclement season; took possession of the post, and secured the army." "My Lord Granby's generosity," adds the same writer, with a blunt and honest enthusiasm, "knows no bounds. Often have I seen his generous hand stretched out to supply the wants of the needy soldier: nor did the meanest follower of the camp go hungry from his door. His house was open equally to British and foreigners; his table was hospitality itself; and his generous open countenance gave a hearty welcome to all his guests. Hence harmony reigned through the whole army; disputes had no existence; and officers of different nations emulated the social virtues of the British chief. By such means he gained the hearts of all the army: they followed him with confidence, and fought under him from attachment." These sentiments of his character have been a hundred times echoed, and were never contradicted. He certainly was one of the most amiable men in existence.

Lord Granby, though he lived in a time of great party violence, took little concern in political affairs. To such a nature as his the selfishness, the injustice, the meanness, the acrimony, which unhappily seem inseparable from them, must have been utterly abhorrent; and the calls of his public service had fortunately tended in a great measure to detach him from them. He had

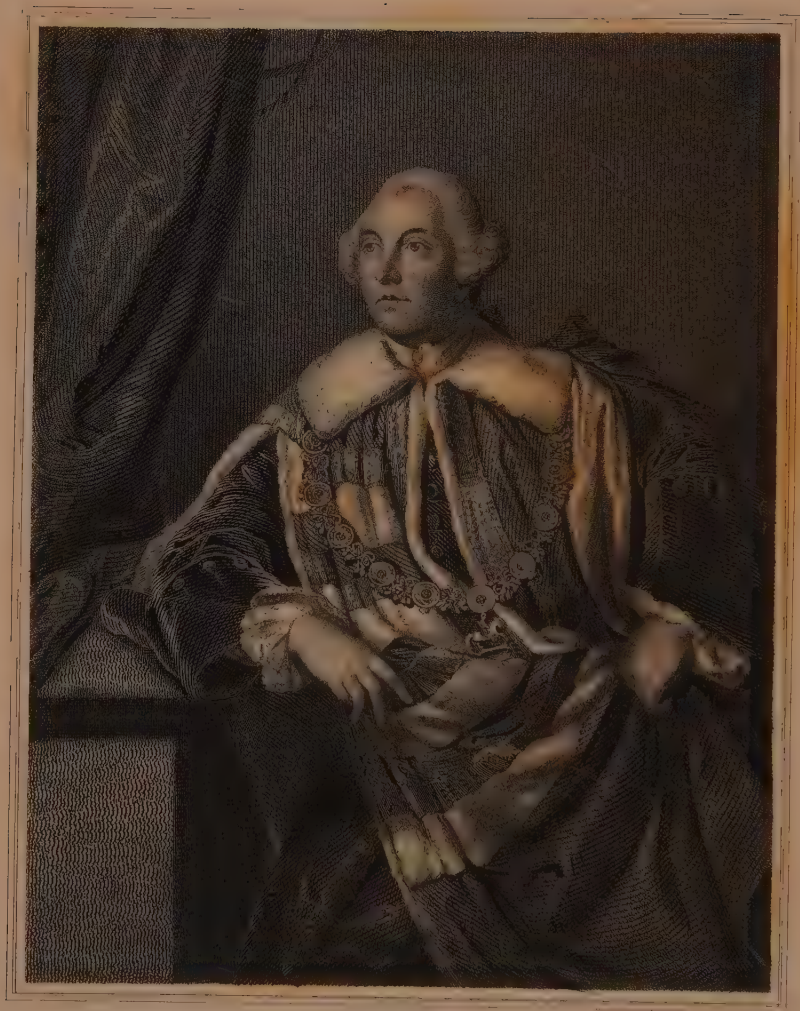
not a seat in the Privy Council till the second of May, 1760, when the King declared him a member, during his absence with the army. On his return, after the peace, he became, and remained, as might have been reasonably expected, a moderate supporter in Parliament of the measures of government. On the fourteenth of May, 1763, on his resignation of his commission of Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, he accepted the office of Master-General of that department, and on the twenty-first of February, in the following year, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the County of Derby. These were rather to be esteemed compliments than favours, the one due to his military services, the other to just family pretensions. But, on the thirteenth of August, 1766, he was placed in the exalted post of Commander-in-Chief of the army, and the voice of faction was presently raised against him. That most splendid and superb of all libellers, the person, who, under the signature of Junius, astonished the country by the malignity and the injustice of his censures, not less than by the force and exquisite beauty of the terms in which they were conveyed, devoted a paragraph of the very first effusion which fell from his pen to the abuse of the Commander-in-Chief. With the utmost disposition to injure him, merely because he had become a member of the administration, Junius could no further accuse him than of a partiality to relations and friends in the distribution of promotions, and the falsehood of the charge as to the few instances which Junius had ventured to particularize was fully proved by one of Lord Granby's private friends, who, with a generous imprudence, signed with his name a reply to the anonymous slander.

On this subject it is needless to say more. The Marquis held the high office but for between three and four years. On the great question whether the House of Commons could incapacitate Mr. Wilkes from sitting in it, he had voted for the affirmative. On the meeting of Parliament, in January, 1770, it was again introduced, and canvassed with great heat and irritation. He now made a public recantation of the opinion which he had formerly tacitly expressed on the Middlesex election; and concluded a

MARQUIS OF GRANBY.

short speech, by declaring that “ it was for want of consideration of the nice distinction between expulsion and incapacitation that he had given his vote for the sitting of a member who was not returned in the last session of Parliament, and that he should always lament that vote as the greatest misfortune of his life. That he now saw he was in an error, and was not ashamed to make that public declaration of it.” A few days after, he resigned his appointments, as did the rest of the members of the government ; and, on the twentieth of the following October, died, most unexpectedly, of a sudden attack of the gout in his stomach, at Scarborough.

The Marquis of Granby married Frances, eldest daughter of Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset, by his second wife, the Lady Charlotte Finch, by whom he had issue John, Lord Roos, who died young ; Charles, who succeeded to the honours and estates on the death of John, the third Duke, in 1779 ; Robert, a Captain in the Navy, who died bravely of his wounds in 1781 ; Frances, married, first, to George Carpenter, Earl of Tyrconnel, secondly, to Philip Lesley, second son to David, Lord Newark ; Catherine, and Caroline, who died infants.



Engraved by H. B. Mass.

JOHN RUSSELL, DUKE OF BEDFORD.

OB. 1771.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

JOHN RUSSELL,

FOURTH DUKE OF BEDFORD.

THIS nobleman was born on the thirtieth of September, 1710, and on the death of his brother, Wriothsley, the third Duke, on the twenty-third of October, 1732, he succeeded to the titles and estates of his ancestors. His private life furnishes very scanty materials for biography; and although he had given unequivocal proofs of the tendency of his political opinions by the part he took against Sir Robert Walpole in 1742, it was not until 1744 that he engaged himself in the public business of the country in which it was afterwards his lot to play a conspicuous part. Towards the close of the latter year the government of Lord Granville had become so unpopular, and was so strenuously opposed, that he was compelled to resign. A new ministry, which is known in history by the name of the Broad-bottom administration, then given to it in derision, succeeded, in which the Duke of Bedford was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, and was sworn a member of the Privy Council. On the King's going to visit his German dominions in 1745, the Duke was nominated one of the Lords Justices during his absence. In the latter part of that year, and while George the Second was abroad, Charles Edward, the son of the first Pretender, or, as he was most commonly called in England, the Young Chevalier, having been induced to believe that the kingdom was ripe for revolt, made his rash attempt to recover the crown which his ancestors had worn, by landing in Scotland. The Duke of Bedford, who had been appointed, in the May preceding, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Bedford, was the first of the English nobility who raised, at his own cost, a

regiment of foot for the defence of the country, an example that was followed with alacrity, and helped to stimulate the public feeling to that open demonstration of loyalty and union, which soon extinguished the partial rebellion, and put an end to the hopes of its promoters for ever.

Although he had thus given unquestionable proof of his attachment to the established government, he did not hesitate to oppose, in the House of Lords, in the same year, a proposition for extending the penalties of high treason to the posterity of persons who should be convicted of corresponding with the sons of the Pretender. On this occasion he introduced, in an able and energetic speech, a touching allusion to the melancholy history of his own family. "Your lordships," he said "cannot be surprised that I am alarmed at the proposal of a law like this—I, whose family has suffered so lately the deprivation of its rank and fortune by the tyranny of a Court;—I, whose grandfather was cut off by an unjust prosecution, and whose father was condemned for many years to see himself deprived of the rights of his birth, which were at length restored to him by more equitable judges. It is surely reasonable, my lords, that I should oppose the extension of penalties to the descendants of offenders, who have scarcely myself escaped the blast of an attainder."

The early part of 1746 was distinguished by an event which even the fluctuations of English politics, rapid and capricious as they have often been, have hardly ever paralleled. The displaced ministers, Lord Granville and Lord Bath, had regained the favour of the monarch, and their influence was felt by the Duke of Newcastle to an extent which rendered it impossible for him to carry on the government, while adversaries so potent were allowed secretly to contravene his plans. Having first ensured the co-operation of Lord Cobham and his party, the Duke of Newcastle on the twentieth of February, 1746, resigned the seals, which the King immediately bestowed upon Lord Granville. On the following day a universal resignation of all the government officers took place. The King, whose knowledge of the politics of the nation

FOURTH DUKE OF BEDFORD.

he had been called to govern had not enabled him to foresee this step, was perplexed; and Lord Granville, who was fully aware of the consequences of entering on an administration which would be opposed by the numerous enemies he had thus provoked, resigned in haste and dismay the power he had so recently re-assumed. In three days the late ministry was reinstated; and upon this occasion the office of Warden and Keeper of the New Forest was added to the appointments which the Duke of Bedford had before held.

With the exception of the temporary change that has been noticed, the ministry of which the Duke of Bedford was a member continued until the conclusion of the peace in 1748, although the same unanimity which had distinguished it upon its first formation did not always prevail. In February, 1748, he was appointed Secretary of State for the Southern Department. His discharge of this office gave rise to dissensions between himself and the Duke of Newcastle. The Duke of Bedford complained that his colleague engrossed to himself the whole management of the affairs of their office, and that his demeanour was haughty and cold—manners so repugnant to his own temper, which was open and frank in a remarkable degree, that he looked upon them as personal affronts. The Duke of Newcastle, on the other hand, alleged that the official affairs which should have been transacted by the Duke of Bedford were neglected; that his fondness for trivial amusements and rural sports, the carelessness, and sometimes the obstinacy of his disposition, rendered him negligent of his duties and impracticable in business. It is probable that these complaints were well grounded on either side, and that a conviction of this contributed to widen the breach between them. The Duke of Bedford's dislike of his colleague increased daily, and he not only took no pains to conceal it, but gave proofs of it, which could not be mistaken or forgiven, by attaching himself to the Duke of Cumberland and the Princess Amelia, neither of whom was favourable to the Duke of Newcastle. The latter determined upon the readiest revenge by preparing the means of ridding

himself of so uncongenial a companion as the Duke of Bedford had become.

The death of the Prince of Wales in 1751, by dividing the opposition, furnished an opportunity of which the Pelhams availed themselves to effect this and other plans they had formed for strengthening their power. In June, 1751, Lord Sandwich was removed; the same fate befell other friends of the Duke, and he perceived that his own dismissal was resolved on. On the following day he repaired to the King at Kensington, and resigned the seals into his Majesty's own hands. In the interview which took place on this occasion, the Duke is said to have expressed his resentment and indignation at the conduct of the Pelhams in terms which went far beyond the bounds of ordinary etiquette. He inveighed bitterly against his late colleague in particular, whom he accused of haughtiness and treachery, and enlarged upon the good qualities of Lord Sandwich and others, who had been displaced by the Duke of Newcastle, with a view of securing to himself and his brother all the offices and power of the state. The King received these expostulations with great mildness; expressed his disbelief in Mr. Pelham's being implicated in the charge brought by the Duke against him and his brother; and, with respect to Lord Sandwich, his Majesty observed that he had very few friends. The King acknowledged the sense he entertained of the attachment which the Duke had always evinced for his brother, the Duke of Cumberland, and ended by pressing on him the post of Master of the Horse, which his Grace declined to accept.

From this period the Duke of Bedford was to be reckoned as the leader of a division of the opposition, and took a strong part in the discussions respecting the education of the heir to the crown. In March, 1753, he moved for the production of the examinations and papers connected with certain charges against the prince's preceptors, which was negatived; and in further prosecution of the design to overthrow what was called the system of Leicester House, which he avowed, was concerned in circulating a sort of

FOURTH DUKE OF BEDFORD.

remonstrance entitled “ A Memorial of several Noblemen of rank and fortune,” in which the charge of Jacobitism, and intended treason, was distinctly brought against the persons who were intrusted with the education of the future King. The Bedford party was, however, at this time, neither strong nor popular enough to exercise any great influence over the public mind, or to excite the fears of their adversaries.

On a partial change of ministry, at the end of the year 1756, the Duke of Bedford was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. This was, perhaps, of all his public employments, that for which his character and habits best fitted him. He possessed an uncommon share of firmness, which his enemies called obstinacy; and as he was besides fond of splendour and display, and was of a frank, convivial disposition, his administration was at once useful and popular in a country proverbially famed for hospitality, and which had long suffered under a deficient and mischievous system of evil government. The Irish court, during the time he presided over it, presented an appearance of gaiety and content to which it had long been unused. During the period of the Duke's government in Ireland, Thurot, a French pirate, who had been favoured by the court of Versailles, and whose depredations had rendered him formidable to the British merchant shipping, ventured, in the course of one of the excursions he made with a view of plundering the British coast, to land at Carrickfergus; and as the commandant of the place was wholly unprepared to resist such an attack, he was compelled, after a short but gallant defence, to capitulate. The triumph of the French adventurer was, however, as fleeting as it had been accidental. The whole of the militia in the neighbouring districts was immediately called out, and he was compelled to re-embark with the utmost possible haste, in order to escape their vengeance. He was encountered in his retreat by Captain Elliott, of the *Æolus*, and two other frigates; and coming to an engagement, after a desperate conflict, Thurot was killed, and his three ships taken.

In 1761, Lord Halifax succeeded the Duke of Bedford in the government of Ireland, and his Grace was recalled and appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal. When in 1762 the treaty of peace with France had been agreed to, the Duke was commissioned as minister plenipotentiary to the court of Versailles, for the purpose of concluding and signing the preliminaries. As every article relative to the intended peace had been agreed to by the English government, his Grace's office was designed by Lord Bute, who had been the means of his appointment, to have been little more than nominal, and his functions confined to the mere operation of subscribing the treaty which had been concluded. His notorious indifference, and the carelessness of his temper, not less perhaps than the station he held in the country, had caused him to be selected for this task; and, calculating upon his compliance, the minister ventured to despatch after him a messenger, who reached him at Calais, with instructions limiting the full powers he had received at his departure. This intimation provoked the Duke's indignation; and he sent back the messenger on the instant, with a letter in which he insisted that his former instructions should be restored without any restriction, or he threatened to prosecute his journey no further. Lord Bute, alarmed at the failure of his ill-considered attempt, immediately complied, and the Duke repaired to the French court. Soon after he arrived, the news of our having captured the Havannah was received in France; and upon this additional advantage to the British interests becoming known, his Grace demanded some equivalent to be given by France for the cession of that place. Florida and Porto Rico were the possessions he required to be ceded: the first was readily yielded; but the second, it was said, could not be complied with unless the court of Madrid would consent; and a messenger being despatched thither, the signing the preliminaries was delayed until his return. This interval was employed in making an application to the English government, which succeeded so well, that the Duke shortly afterwards received positive orders to sign the treaty on Florida alone being given up. The terms upon which this peace

FOURTH DUKE OF BEDFORD.

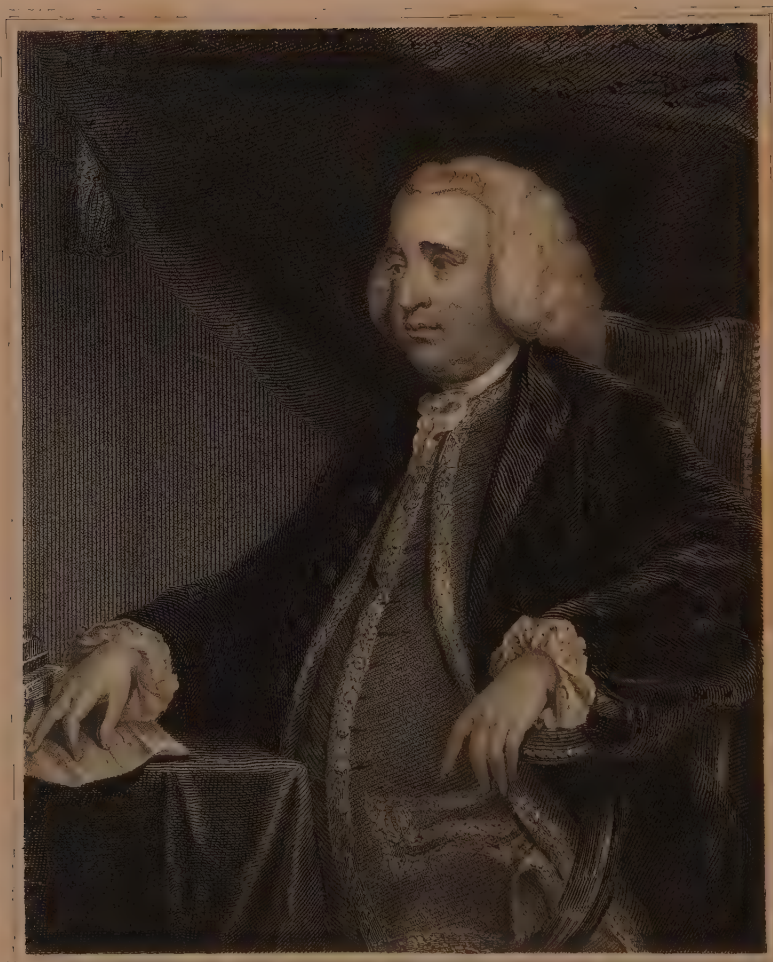
was concluded excited loud and bitter animadversions in England. Charges of corruption were liberally heaped, by the instigators of the popular censure, against Lord Bute who had planned, and against the Duke of Bedford who had been the instrument of concluding it. The envenomed acrimony of the celebrated political writer who used the signature of "Junius" lent a temporary weight to the basest calumnies which it suited the purposes of party spirit to circulate, and from which it would be much easier to defend the Duke than to excuse him for a too easy compliance with the orders of a ministry, the honesty as well as the capacity of which he had abundant reason to doubt.

In April, 1763, Lord Bute retired, and the Granville administration was formed, in which the Duke of Bedford held the post of President of the Council. A period of two years sufficed to make this ministry, which had never been very popular, generally obnoxious. The silk trade had declined since the peace; and the cause of this misfortune was ascribed to the measures of the existing government, the members of which were pointed out as victims for the popular fury. The Duke of Bedford's house was attacked by a tumultuous assembly of silk-weavers, and the work of destruction which they had begun was only stopped by the resolute interference of the military. The opposition of the ministers to the Regency Bill, which was supposed to have been instigated by him, had estranged from them the King's favour; and at length, in an interview with his Majesty, his Grace is said to have permitted himself the use of such language as could not be endured, and the government of which he formed a part was consequently dissolved. The Rockingham administration was then constituted, which shortly afterwards was displaced by that of Lord Chatham; and although the Duke was more than once on the point of coalescing with the latter, the negotiations were broken off. In June, 1767, the Duke of Grafton's solicitations induced the Bedford party to separate from their friends; and on that occasion the Duke resumed his Presidency of the Privy Council, which he held until his death, on the fifteenth of January, 1771.

The important station which he filled exposed the Duke, during almost the whole period of his public life, to the animadversions of the organs of the parties to which he was opposed, and of these the brilliant and unprincipled calumniator whose name is hidden, probably for ever, under the appellation of Junius was the foremost. The temper of the Duke was so much above disguise, that it afforded easy opportunities to so dexterous a partisan as that writer, whose chief talent consisted in making "the worse appear the better reason"—of magnifying small faults into enormous atrocities. The charges were not believed even amidst the intoxication that accompanied the excitement during which they were at first preferred; and it would be idle now to attempt to rescue the name of the Duke of Bedford from imputations wholly without foundation or proof.

With moderate talents, and of habits which did not incline him to cultivate even those talents very assiduously, he nevertheless distinguished himself in debate; while his naturally good disposition and undaunted temper gave a weight to his character. In his friendships he was frank and zealous, and not less earnest in his enmity. Mr. Fox, who knew him well, said he was "the most ungovernable governed man in the world;" an estimate which at once explains the affection and esteem of his friends, and the provocations which had excited the rancorous attacks of his foes.

His Grace was married first, in Oct., 1731, to Lady Diana, daughter of Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland, who died, Sept., 1735, without leaving issue. In April, 1737, he was again married, to Lady Gertrude, eldest daughter of John, Earl Gower, by whom he had one son, Francis, Marquis of Tavistock, born Sept. 26, 1739, and who was killed by a fall from his horse while hunting. That nobleman left three sons, the eldest of whom, Francis, succeeded to the title and estates of his grandfather; and on his death without issue, they devolved upon his brother John, the sixth Duke of Bedford of his noble family.



Engraved by H. Robinson

HENRY FOX, FIRST LORD HOLLAND.

OB. 1774.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} LORD HOLLAND.

HENRY FOX,

FIRST LORD HOLLAND,

WAS second son of Sir Stephen Fox, by his second marriage with Christian Hope, daughter of the Reverend Charles Hope, of Naseby, in Lincolnshire.

He was born in September, 1705; and had the misfortune to lose both his parents before he arrived at years of discretion. His education, however, was not neglected. He was some years at Eton; was entered a gentleman commoner at Christ Church, Oxford, in February, 1721; and had taken a degree in that university before he left it in December, 1724. Though a younger brother, and of a family recently emerged from obscurity, he seems to have followed the same career as young men of fortune of that day; and, when his academical education was completed, to have embraced no particular profession, and to have spent much of his time in foreign travel. It is remarkable, that accident made him pass some time at Aubigny with the Duchess of Portsmouth, the mistress of Charles the Second, and then at an advanced period of life, whose descendant he was many years afterwards destined to marry. From her own lips he heard what his son, Mr. Fox, has recorded in his history, that, justly or unjustly, she was thoroughly persuaded that Charles the Second had died of poison.

During his absence from England, Mr. Fox travelled for some

HENRY FOX,

time with the celebrated Lord Hervey, who had the hardihood to contend with the formidable satirist Pope, in virulent lampoons, and to engage with Dr. Middleton, on a question of historical research with respect to the composition of the Roman senate. The friendship of Mr. Fox with Lord Hervey, and the causes that led to a subsequent breach of it, are described, with some severity, by Lord Chesterfield, to have arisen from adventures and amours, more fit for the scandalous chronicle than for this work, and not very creditable to either party. Be that as it may, it is certain, that, during his connexion with Lord Hervey, he was second to that nobleman in his duel with Mr. Pulteney, and was reported to have acted with great propriety and honour in that affair; and it may be safely conjectured, that the good offices of his friend, who was a great favourite of Queen Caroline, and a staunch supporter of Sir Robert Walpole, recommended him to the notice of the court, and to the patronage of that eminent statesman. In truth, if familiarity with the great, and indulgence in fashionable vices, had impaired his fortune at an early period of life, there is little doubt that he had ingratiated himself with many, such as Mr. Winnington and, more particularly, Lord Sunderland, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, who assisted him in repairing it.

To the interest of the latter nobleman he was indebted for his seat in parliament; and the friendship between them continued without interruption till the death of the Duke, in Germany, in 1759. Mr. Fox had been his chief adviser in his marriage, which lost him the favour, and had well nigh lost him the fortune, of his grandmother, the capricious Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. That splenetic old lady, on being asked in a public theatre who was that gentleman opposite, in conversation with her grandson, is reported to have exclaimed, "Who is he? why that is the Fox that has run away with my Goose."

In parliament, where he was chosen for Hindon, in 1735, Mr. Fox devoted himself to the cause of Sir Robert Walpole; and was not only admitted, together with his friends, Mr. Winnington and Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, to familiar and intimate inter-

FIRST LORD HOLLAND.

course with that social minister, but was rewarded by more solid marks of confidence and gratitude. In 1737, he was appointed Surveyor of the Board of Works; and in 1743, on the fall of the ministry that turned out Sir Robert, he was named, as one of the friends and partizans of that minister, Commissioner of the Treasury, when he was re-elected for Windsor, for which borough, through the interest of the Duke of Marlborough, he had been elected into the House of Commons in 1741. He continued to hold this office, and was an active member of government in Mr. Pelham's administration; and his interest and importance were rather strengthened than impaired by an incident in his private life, which gave scandal, and created a great sensation in the fasohinable world. This was his clandestine marriage, in 1744, with Lady Caroline Lennox, eldest daughter of the Duke of Richmond. Her father and relatives were in the first instance indignant at an alliance, which, according to the notions of those days, was deemed derogatory to a great family; but the consideration, which his talents and services rapidly acquired for him at court and in parliament, gradually reconciled the noble family of his wife to the connexion; and the head of it, as well as many of the branches, condescended ere long to solicit and accept favours from the son of the plebeian, Sir Stephen Fox, who no doubt in his turn found his account in attaching a powerful family to his interests.

Mr. Fox, who, through the interest of the Duke of Marlborough, retained his seat for Windsor, was appointed Secretary of War soon after the abortive attempt of Lord Granville to assume the supreme direction of affairs in 1746. The reputation of Mr. Fox for sterling abilities in business, and for great skill and readiness in debate, now stood very high. His spirit in protecting his friends, both in and out of parliament, from the unjust clamours of the multitude, and the more secret intrigues of ministers themselves, were not less conspicuous than in vindicating the measures of government; and this quality ingratiated him with many powerful noblemen of that day, and, together with his

HENRY FOX,

readiness and felicity in reply, rendered him not altogether an unequal match to the celebrated and eloquent Mr. Pitt, to whom, as an orator, he was far inferior. Horace Walpole, in the language no doubt of partiality, describes his style of speaking, in a paper of the "World," published in 1748, in the following words:—"In the House of Commons he was for some time an ungraceful and unpopular speaker, the abundance of his matter overflowing his elocution; but the force of his reasoning has prevailed, both over his own defects and those of his audience. He speaks with a strength and perspicuity of argument that commands the admiration of an age apt to be more cheaply pleased, and has been at the idle labour of making himself fame and honours by pursuing a steady and regular plan, when art and eloquence would have carried him to an equal height; and made those fear him who now only love him; if a party can love a man who they see is connected with them by principles, not by prejudices." And Lord Waldegrave, who was also his friend, but whose judgment was less swayed by the prepossession of the moment, says of him—"As to Fox, few men have been more unpopular; yet, when I have asked his bitterest enemies what crimes they could allege against him, they always confined themselves to general accusations; that he was avaricious, encouraged jobs, had profligate friends, and dangerous connections; but never could produce a particular fact of any weight or consequence."—"He has great parliamentary knowledge, but is rather an able debater than a complete orator; his best speeches are neither long nor premeditated; quick and concise replication is his peculiar excellence."—"In business he is clear and communicative; frank and agreeable in society; and though he can pay his court on particular occasions, he has too much pride to flatter an enemy, or even a friend, where it is necessary."—"Upon the whole, he has some faults, but more good qualities; is a man of sense and judgment, notwithstanding some indiscretion; and with small allowances for ambition, party, and politics, is a warm friend, a man of veracity, and a man of honour."

FIRST LORD HOLLAND.

His office of Secretary at War brought him into continual contact with the Duke of Cumberland ; and his intrepidity, which we have alluded to above, in facing clamour and defying intrigue, secured him the favour of that illustrious prince, who was not less reprehensible for a haughty and repulsive contempt of popularity than commendable for a disdain of all dirty intrigue. Such favour added, no doubt, to Mr. Fox's importance ; but it was nevertheless among the causes which defeated the main object of his ambition, to become the chief minister of the country. From attachment to the Duke, he arraigned without scruple or reserve those parts of the Regency Bill, which, in his judgment, deprived his Royal Highness of the weight and influence due to his birth and station, and which were in truth the fruits of an understanding between the ministry and the court of Leicester House, with a view of propitiating the favour of the heir-apparent to the former. When George the Second questioned Mr. Fox upon his speeches on that occasion, he is reported to have answered—" I said what I did against it, because all that was said for it was against the Duke." The King rejoined, " I thank you for that, my affection is with my son—I assure you I like you the better for wishing well to him."

This approbation of the father, however flattering, was, in a worldly point of view, a sorry substitute for the popularity he lost by his intemperate zeal for the son. The prejudices against the Duke were inveterate, and almost universal ; and Mr. Fox, who combated them most warmly, and never scrupled to expose the fallacy or malevolence of his opponents with the most pointed severity, shared the odium of his royal patron and friend. His faults were exaggerated, his good qualities suppressed or misrepresented. He was accused of arbitrary principles, suspected of a design to subvert the constitution, and branded as one of the most corrupt of the corrupt school of Sir Robert Walpole. Still he possessed great ascendancy in the House of Commons ; and if he had not imprudently betrayed his impatience to be minister, it was the opinion of many men of judgment and discernment, and among them of Lord Waldegrave, author of the *Memoirs*,

HENRY FOX,

that he would have attained the great object of his ambition. But, even during the lifetime of Mr. Pelham, his aspiring views are said to have transpired. Some of his own party grew jealous of him, and his enemies were furnished with topics for arraigning his ambition. Nettled at the notion, founded or unfounded, that Lord Hardwicke, in the proposal of the famous Marriage Bill, had alluded with pointed reprehension to the circumstances of his brother's, Lord Ilchester's, marriage with a minor, he preserved no moderation in his resistance to the measure, and in his invectives and sarcasms against the author of it. The Chancellor never forgave him ; and the weight of his resentment was felt in all the numerous negotiations and party overtures which occurred during the remaining years of King George the Second's reign. It is but just, in censuring the intemperate lengths with which the opposition of Mr. Fox, still in office, was carried to a measure proposed by the minister, to observe that the measure itself was liable to many weighty objections in principle ; that in its consequences it has been productive of so many inconveniences as to have called for a revision, amounting almost to a repeal, in our own times ; and that as it was originally introduced, it was full of many harsh and unwarrantable provisions, which the amendments of Mr. Fox either softened or removed.

On the death of Mr. Pelham in 1754, Mr. Fox, then Secretary at War, was thought the fittest person to succeed him. The Duke of Newcastle, who, although he did not love him, was perfectly aware of his weight in the House, and of his qualifications for the discharge of the duties of office, at first entertained the intention of agreeing to any terms by which his co-operation and assistance might be ensured, and requested Lord Hartington, afterwards the third Duke of Devonshire, to negotiate with him for this purpose. Mr. Fox named his terms, which were that, as he was to hold the important station of Leader of the House of Commons, he should possess the power which had in Mr. Pelham's hands belonged to that office ; that he should be acquainted with the disposal of the secret-service money, which was then

FIRST LORD HOLLAND.

notoriously employed in remunerating the members who voted with the Government; and that he should have a voice in the nomination of members to be returned for the Treasury boroughs in the ensuing elections.

Upon these proposals being communicated to the Duke by Lord Hartington, they were distinctly acceded to, and Mr. Fox considered himself as fixed in the position to which he had long aspired. The weakness and jealousy of the Duke of Newcastle, and the intrigues of his enemies, however, disappointed his hopes. The Princess of Wales, who exercised no inconsiderable influence over the Duke, hated Mr. Fox for his attachment to the Duke of Cumberland, and for the sentiments he had expressed on the Regency Bill. The Chancellor is suspected of having suggested his apprehensions that the Duke of Newcastle would find his intended colleague troublesome, if not dangerous. Mr. Fox had also by his unsparing sarcasms upon the Scotch nation, and on the members of the legal profession, excited the implacable enmity of those bodies, who added the whole weight of their opposition to the machinations of his other foes. The Duke of Newcastle broke off, at the expense of his honour, the engagement into which he had entered. With a man of Mr. Fox's temper, it was not difficult to bring this about. The Duke refused, in an interview which took place between them, to perform the arrangement which had been agreed upon as to the secret-service money and the treasury members. Mr. Fox urged, that it was impossible for him to lead the House of Commons without the power for which he had stipulated. The Duke replied it was a power which he was resolved not to share with any one. He was reminded of his agreement with Lord Hartington, which he did not deny; and gravely alleged, that he had consented to it at a moment when his distress of mind, occasioned by the loss of his brother, Mr. Pelham, had so distracted him, that he had not given the matter sufficient consideration; in short, that he was resolved not to fulfil it. Mr. Fox would not abate in his demands, and in utter disgust refused to take any office

HENRY FOX,

under the new administration. The interference of the King was resorted to for the purpose of preventing this separation, or rather perhaps with a view of giving a colour of fairness to the Duke of Newcastle's proceeding. His Majesty requested Mr. Fox to accept the office of Secretary of State, but either did not or would not understand the reasons which influenced his refusal, and the audience closed by the King's expressing a resolution never again to obtrude his favours on any one. Sir Thomas Robinson was appointed Secretary of State, and Mr. Fox, although he retained his office of Secretary at War, joined in a sort of opposition.

The death of Mr. Pelham had, in a great degree, broken up the parties which had united in support of his administration. The Whigs were divided into clans, and voted under several leaders. The Pelham party were still large and powerful; but Mr. Fox found himself also at the head of a division consisting of many of his personal friends, and of many more political followers, who, notwithstanding his recent disappointment, had great confidence in his talents, and a strong belief that he would yet become the Premier. In opposition his power became daily more formidable. Mr. Pitt who, though still in the service of the Government, yet more openly attacked the measures of the Minister, joined Mr. Fox in his endeavours to weaken and expose the inefficiency of the persons whom the recent change had raised to power. While he directed the full force of his opposition against the then Solicitor-General, afterwards Lord Mansfield, Mr. Fox amused himself by ridiculing Sir Thomas Robinson, and by provoking that minister to expose his unfitness for the office from which Mr. Fox had been excluded. The Duke of Newcastle saw that his government could not stand against this powerful union. He first made overtures, through Mr. Charles Yorke, to Mr. Pitt, who, believing that the King's want of confidence in him, which had been openly manifested, was occasioned by the Duke of Newcastle, refused, until that proscription, as he called it, was taken off, to enter into any conversation whatever either with the

FIRST LORD HOLLAND.

Duke or with any other person from him. Foiled in his first attempt, his Grace was next compelled to endeavour to propitiate the man whom he had so lately insulted and endeavoured to degrade. The task was difficult. Mr. Fox's resentment was yet warm, and the Duke was too insincere and crafty to meet him in the only way in which it was practicable to close the breach between them. At length Lord Waldegrave was applied to, and after some negotiations, in which he has recorded that Mr. Fox behaved like a man of sense, and that the Duke was mean and shuffling, he induced each of them to give way. Mr. Fox gained the main point of his ambition, was appointed Secretary of State in November 1755, and, with the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Anson, planned and carried into effect the warlike operations which ensued.

This triumph, however gratifying it might be at the time to his pride, added little either to his fame or to his happiness. He expected no great cordiality from the Duke of Newcastle, who had been forced, against his inclination, to admit him to a share of his power ; but he was not prepared for the obstacles which the want of confidence and candour in his colleague presented to the discharge of his duties. The interference of the intriguing adherents of the Duke, who regarded with dismay the rise of so formidable a person, fomented the Minister's jealousy, and induced him to look at every part of Mr. Fox's conduct rather as that of an enemy whom he feared, than of an ally whose assistance he had invoked. The behaviour of the King exposed him to still greater mortifications. The Monarch could not forget that Sir Thomas Robinson, to whom he was extremely partial, had been displaced by Mr. Fox ; and, finding the latter less conversant in foreign affairs than with the business of Parliament, his Majesty is said to have dropped some ungracious hints that a man who was a good talker in the House of Commons might, nevertheless, be a very indifferent Secretary of State. The painfulness of his position from these causes, joined to the ill success of the operations of the war, and the increasing strength of the opposition,

from which he anticipated a violent attack, in consequence of the disastrous loss of Minorca, and against which he saw little probability of his being effectually supported, determined him to avoid the approaching storm. He solicited an audience with the King, entered into a frank detail of the grievances of which he had to complain, and asked permission to resign, which was granted.

The Duke of Newcastle, now perfectly sensible of the weakness of the Administration of which he was the head, and terrified at the public hatred and distrust which his measures and their results had provoked, obtained the King's commands to invite Mr. Pitt to take office. A flat refusal to join with his Grace in any shape was the reply to his overtures, and the Duke was consequently obliged to resign. The formation of a new Administration, on his own terms, was then proposed to Mr. Pitt through the Duke of Devonshire, with the single stipulation on the part of the King that Mr. Fox should be retained; but to this also Mr. Pitt refused to accede, and in November, 1756, he undertook the management of the public business, at the head of an administration of which he had the sole formation, occupying himself that post of Secretary of State which Mr. Fox had just before relinquished. The want of confidence which subsisted between the King and his new servants caused this arrangement to continue only to the April following, when the Ministry was broken up. Lord Waldegrave was then employed by the King to form, in conjunction with Mr. Fox, a new administration; but the attempt having failed, in consequence of the reluctance of the Duke of Newcastle's friends to take office without his Grace, His Majesty was unwillingly compelled to give way to Mr. Pitt and to the Duke of Newcastle, who had in the meantime coalesced, stipulating only that Mr. Fox should be Paymaster of the Forces. This office, which was then a place of great emolument, he continued to hold till 1765, when he was removed, as a friend of Lord Bute, by Mr. George Grenville, on the temporary return of that gentleman to office, after his first dismissal. Lord Holland, as he had now

FIRST LORD HOLLAND.

become, was not restored by the Rockingham party when they came into power, as they did within a few weeks ; and from that time he took little part in public affairs.

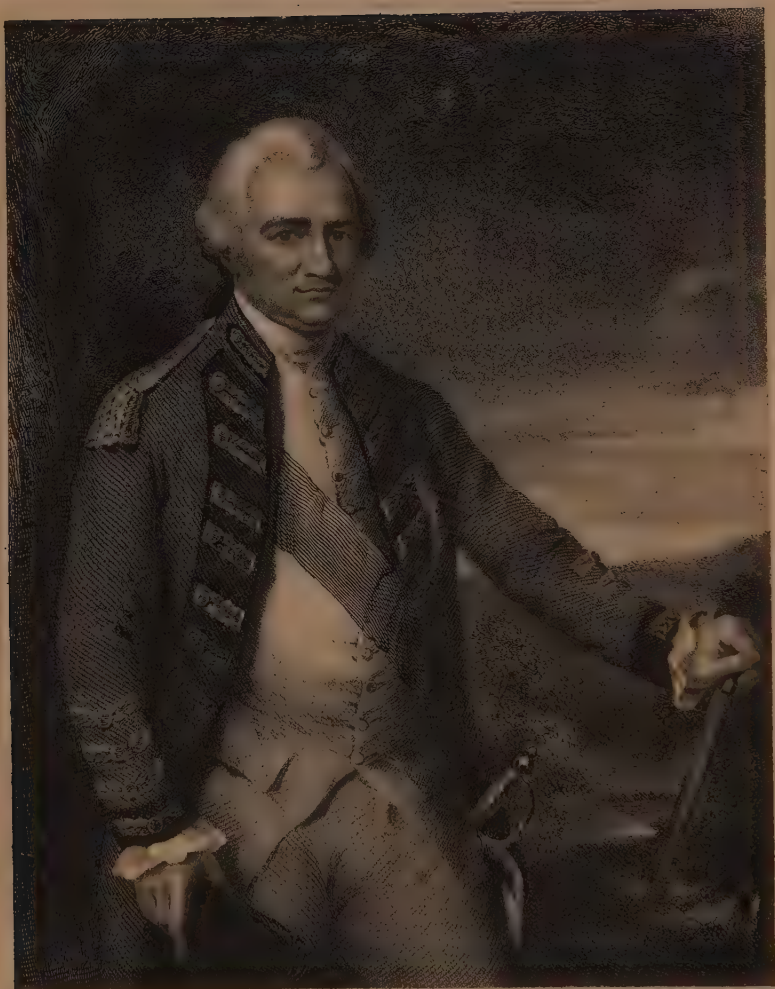
In the year 1763 he had been prevailed upon by Lord Bute, and by the earnest and personal solicitation of His Majesty George the Third, to undertake, as leader of the House of Commons, the defence of the Peace of Fontainbleau. He discharged this task with greater spirit and success than was expected ; but by the line he took on that occasion, the friendship which had so long subsisted between him and the Duke of Cumberland was destroyed, and they were never afterwards entirely reconciled.

On the 6th of May, 1762, his wife was created Baroness Holland, and on the 16th of April, 1763, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Holland, Baron of Foxley in the county of Wilts, which dignity was limited to him and the heirs male of his body. By his marriage with Lady Caroline Lennox he had four sons, viz. Stephen, who succeeded to his title ; Henry, who died in his infancy ; Charles James, one of the most illustrious and enlightened members of the House of Commons ; and Henry Edward. His Lordship was a member of the Privy Council, and held the place of Clerk of the Pells in Ireland, which was bestowed upon him in 1757, with the reversion after his death to two of his sons.

After his successful defence of the peace of Fontainbleau, his Lordship visited Paris, where he fell into ill health, from which he never afterwards wholly recovered. On quitting office, he made an excursion into Italy, passed a winter at Naples, a second winter at Nice, and did not return to England until the autumn of 1768. The latter years of his life were spent in retirement, between Holland House and Kingsgate, in the Isle of Thanet, where he built a villa in a somewhat eccentric taste, which provoked the satirical animadversions of the poet Gray, and others. From his return to England his health continued gradually to decline, until the first of July, 1774, when he died at Holland House, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

HENRY FOX, FIRST LORD HOLLAND.

The prominent place which he so long filled, and the spirit of the times in which he lived, exposed him to the attacks of those who differed from him in politics, and by whom he has been painted as a profligate and unprincipled minister. The testimony of Lord Waldegrave, which we have quoted above, shows that in the judgment of that acute observer his virtues greatly preponderated over his vices ; and that he was one of the most considerable public men of his time. All contemporary evidence concurs in representing him in private as sociable, friendly, and affectionate. Perhaps the most striking proof of his talents is to be found in the fact that he was for many years the most formidable rival of one of the greatest of English orators and statesmen. His public despatches, his poetical effusions, and such of his private letters as have been preserved, suffice to show that he could write with vigour, clearness, and ease.



Engraved by W. T. Motte.

ROBERT, FIRST LORD CLIVE. •

OB. 1774.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN

THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

ROBERT, LORD CLIVE.

THE varied and eventful life of Lord Clive is a proof that, although the age of romance has passed away, the spirit which animated it, and which gave rise to some of its most stirring and striking incidents, was not wholly extinguished in the last century. In other times there have been numerous instances of men raising themselves by the mere force of their individual characters and personal exertions, from obscurity and poverty to wealth and honour; but the middle ages could scarcely show among their Condottieri and Free Companions a more remarkable proof of the marvels which may be wrought by chance, combined with courage, talents, and decision, than is presented by the history of Lord Clive's exploits in India.

He was the eldest son of Richard Clive, Esq., and was born on the 29th of September, 1725, at Styche, near Market Drayton, in Shropshire, a seat which had been possessed by his ancestors from the reign of Henry the Seventh. His family, though of great respectability, was not very wealthy, and he was educated with a view to his being engaged in some active profession. At a very early period he gave unquestionable indications of a daring and enterprising spirit, but at the same time of a temper so uncontrollable as to occasion great apprehensions for his future welfare. It was probably the difficulty of training him to any more quiet employment that induced his father to procure for him an appointment of writer in the service of the East India Company, in which capacity, at the age of nineteen, he sailed for Madras.

ROBERT, LORD CLIVE.

Accident, which often shapes men's destinies, seems in this instance to have cast the youthful adventurer upon a theatre in all respects adapted for the turbulent energy of his disposition. India was at the period of his arrival marked out by the French government as a prey worthy of the grasping ambition which characterized the designs of that monarchy. M. Dupleix, a fit instrument for the completion of those designs, had industriously fermented the jealousy and discontent with which the potentates of India regarded the increasing importance of the mercantile society whose agents had seated themselves upon the soil, and had begun to plant the seeds of that power which was destined afterwards to add a rich and extensive empire to the possessions of Great Britain. At the moment of Mr. Clive's arrival, the Company's resources were so limited, that they could with difficulty maintain their ground, and they were, as it seemed, wholly unable to engage in a conflict with the overwhelming hosts that menaced them. He had not been in India two years when Madras, being attacked by the French Admiral, M. de la Bourdonnais, was compelled to surrender, and the whole of the Company's servants, civil and military, were made prisoners, but remained at large upon parole. Some objection being raised by M. Dupleix, who was chief in command of the French forces, to the terms of the treaty, he declined to ratify the capitulation. The English prisoners, indignant at the injustice of this refusal, resolved to consider the parole as no longer binding upon them. Several of them, among whom Mr. Clive was of the foremost, escaped, and, in the disguise of a native, he reached fort St. David's, about twenty-one miles to the south of Madras.

In the following year, 1747, tired of his civil employment, and feeling, perhaps, that a more stirring life was better suited to his own character and the circumstances into which he was thrown, he procured an ensign's commission in the military service, and applied himself to the duties of his new profession with an ardour and devotion which was the most satisfactory presage of his future success. Previous to this he had been engaged in several private

ROBERT, LORD CLIVE.

quarrels, in which, although perhaps it was his rashness that had engaged him, he evinced indisputable bravery and honourable feeling. In an attack on the French fort of Pondicherry he made his first essay in arms. The assault was unsuccessful, owing partly to the unfavourable weather, and more perhaps to the weakness of the English force, and to the inexperience of Admiral Boscawen, who commanded in warlike operations by land. In the hottest part of the engagement, and where the danger was most imminent, Mr. Clive distinguished himself, and was amongst the last to retreat when the commanding officer ordered the troops to fall back to St. David's.

The pacification which was soon after effected between Great Britain and France did not extend to India. The title of the reigning Rajah of Tanjore was disputed by his brother, and the English, in support of the pretensions of the latter, began to make war upon the Rajah by attacking the fort of Devi Cottah. The first attempt failed, and the British force was compelled to retreat to St. David's. Under the command of Major Stringer Lawrence, an officer of much greater ability than those who had previously directed the operations of the English army, the attack was subsequently renewed. Mr. Clive, then a lieutenant, solicited the command of a forlorn hope, which was reluctantly granted by Major Lawrence, and at the head of thirty-four Europeans, and seven hundred sepoys, he marched upon this desperate enterprise. They had approached the breach, where they were unexpectedly attacked by a party of cavalry. The sepoys fled at the first onset; the British troops under Mr. Clive's command were cut to pieces, and he and three others only escaped. Major Lawrence, seeing this disaster, ordered a general attack, which was made with such irresistible vigour, that the fortress was carried. The Rajah then made overtures of peace, which were accepted, and the English retained possession of their conquest.

A short interval of tranquillity ensued, when Mr. Clive returned to Madras, and resuming his civil duties, was appointed Commissary General, an office which was extremely lucrative, as well

ROBERT, LORD CLIVE.

as of great importance. At this period of his life he was attacked by a nervous fever, which, although he then overcame it, so shattered his constitution, that it left him a prey to that occasional depression of spirits which embittered his subsequent existence, and at length caused his death.

In 1751, an opportunity offered which induced him again to engage in that career which was best suited to his genius and his ambition. The French general had assisted Chunda Saib, the actual Nabob of Arcot, with a large force to assist in the reduction of Trinchinopoly. Mr. Clive, who was now promoted to the rank of captain, proposed to effect a diversion by taking possession of Arcot. This plan was determined on; with a small force he threw himself into the latter place, and was attacked, as he had expected, by the son of the Nabob, whom he repulsed with great loss. Being soon afterwards reinforced, he marched in pursuit of his assailant, whom, three days afterwards, he signally defeated in a general engagement in the open country. He followed up his success with a perseverance for which the foes with whom he had to cope were not at all prepared. Several important places surrendered to him; he retook possession of Arcot, which, upon his quitting it, had again fallen into the hands of the Nabob, and joining Major Lawrence, delivered Trinchinopoly. During the rest of the campaign, the army was composed of two divisions, one of which was placed under the command of Mr. Clive, although then only a junior captain, in consequence of the troops refusing to serve under any other leader. The success of the operations of this army was so great, that in a short time the whole province of Arcot was cleared, and the enemy and their French auxiliaries compelled to sue for peace, which was agreed to, on terms highly favourable to the interests of the Company.

Captain Clive then returned to Madras; and his health being in an enfeebled state, he embarked for England for the purpose of recruiting it. He was received with the honour and applause which his services had merited; was appointed to the command of Fort St. David, with the promise of that of Madras as soon as

ROBERT, LORD CLIVE.

t should become vacant : and was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the army. The East India Company, to whom his exploits had produced very substantial advantages, testified their respect by presenting him with a diamond-hilted sword, which he refused, until a similar one had been bestowed on Major Lawrence, whom he stated to be as well entitled as himself to this distinction.

In 1756 he returned to India, and in the beginning of the following year engaged with Admirals Watson and Pocock in the attack on Geriah, by which the power of the Angrias, piratical chieftains, who had long disturbed the commerce of the Indian Seas, was annihilated. From this exploit he was recalled to the succour of the English possessions in the province of Bengal, which were then exposed to extreme peril from the warfare which had been commenced against them by the Surajah al Dowlat. Calcutta had been taken by this prince, and the English governor, and the other prisoners who fell into his power, treated with a wanton barbarity wholly unknown to the customs of European warfare. Colonel Clive, returning from Geriah, landed at Calcutta, and proceeded to assault the fort with such impetuosity that, although it was strongly fortified, and well supplied with troops and ammunition, it surrendered in less than two hours. The taking of Hoogley, a city of great commercial importance higher up the Ganges, followed ; and these advantages so incensed the Surajah, that he marched with an almost overwhelming force against the English troops, and encamped about a mile from the town of Calcutta. Colonel Clive drew out his little army, and, reinforced by six hundred sailors furnished by Admiral Watson, forced the enemy to an engagement, in which the Asiatic troops were so roughly handled that they retreated in disorder, with the loss of a thousand men, and treasure and stores of great value. The Surajah was, by this defeat, compelled to propose a treaty of peace, which was accepted by Colonel Clive. The subsequent conduct of the chieftain proved however that it was his intention to violate this treaty as soon as he had so reinforced his armies that he might safely resume hostilities ; and, assisted and encouraged by

ROBERT, LORD CLIVE.

the agents of France, he shortly after began a series of annoyances against the English commerce and interests which he knew must be intolerable. His tyranny and cruelty at the same time created many enemies among the highest personages at his court, and a conspiracy was formed against him by Meer Jaffier, his prime minister, and the commander of his armies, which mainly contributed to his overthrow. A revolt having taken place, Colonel Clive, by the advice of that minister, assisted the rebels. The Surajah marched against them with a force composed of fifty thousand foot, eighteen thousand horse, and fifty pieces of cannon, worked by French artillerymen. To oppose this force, Colonel Clive had three thousand two hundred men, of whom nine hundred only were Europeans. On the 23d of June, 1757, the armies came to an engagement in the plains near Plassey. The conflict, though violent at the commencement, was of short duration. The irregular valour of the Surajah's force was ill matched against the coolness, intelligence, and activity, of the European commander. The immense army was routed and put to flight, and the Nabob's camp, baggage, and artillery, fell into the hands of the victors. For want of cavalry, Colonel Clive was unable to derive all the advantages which might have resulted from this battle. He however marched immediately to Moorshedabad, the capital of the province; and, the Nabob having been killed in the pursuit, he proclaimed Meer Jaffier as his successor, and acknowledged him Suba, or Viceroy, of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá.

The power of England in the East was more firmly established by means of this victory than it had ever before been; and, although much remained to be done before they became masters of the Peninsula, it was owing to the active and enterprising designs of Colonel Clive, and to the sagacity with which he made available the advantages he had gained, that they were indebted for their ultimate triumph. The government of Calcutta was conferred upon him after this battle; and, among the most successful of his subsequent exploits, was the repulse of the army of the Great Mogul at the siege of Patna, and the defeat of the troops sent by the

ROBERT, LORD CLIVE.

Governor of Batavia under the pretence of assisting the Dutch Colonies, but for the real purpose of disturbing the British possessions. Honours, and wealth, to an enormous amount, crowned his victories: the Court of Delhi conferred upon him the dignity of Omrah, and the new Nabob testified his gratitude by granting him an annual revenue of twenty-eight thousand pounds sterling, besides presents of great value.

In 1760 he returned to England, and was elected one of the members for Shrewsbury. In November, 1761, the dignity of a Baron of Ireland was conferred upon him, by the title of Baron Clive of Plassey, of the County of Clare, in Ireland, in consequence of his services in India against the Surajah al Dowlat. The affairs of India declined during his absence. The financial circumstances of the government fell into embarrassment, and the powers of their numerous enemies increased, for want of that prompt and unremitting vigilance which he had maintained. He was solicited to resume the command he had relinquished, and again sailed to India in the post of Governor of the province of Bengal. He immediately occupied himself in correcting the abuses which had been permitted to grow up there; repressed the exactions to which a thirst for gain had impelled some of the Europeans to resort; and rescued the oppressed natives from the mischievous system which had begun, and which, unless checked, must have ended in the ruin of the country and the destruction of the English power. In the year 1767, he quitted India, and established himself in his native country for the remainder of his days.

The extent and importance of his achievements may be best conceived by considering the state of our affairs in India during his residence there. In 1756, the Company was a simple society of merchants, struggling to preserve the commercial privileges which had been granted to them, beset by open enemies, and encumbered with alliances to which they could not trust. In 1767, when Lord Clive quitted India, they had acquired a stable power which defied attack, and had raised their resources and importance to an extent which had never been paralleled, and could not have

ROBERT, LORD CLIVE.

been contemplated by the most sanguine imagination. To this state of things the intrepidity and address of Lord Clive had so eminently contributed, that, giving all the applause which is due to those who co-operated with him, the greater share of the glory properly belonged to him.

The task of wielding the power which had been gained proved however too great for the Company. Regarding their acquisitions only in the light of mercantile advantages, they lost sight of the principles by which a vast country, so conquered, could alone be preserved. The conduct of their agents, highly culpable as it was, sprang naturally from the circumstances in which they were placed, and the government of Great Britain found it necessary to interfere, in order to prevent the destruction of the colony. An inquiry was instituted in Parliament, to which Lord Clive lent the readiest and most efficient assistance. In the result it was found expedient to take the power of governing India out of the feeble hands into which it had fallen, and a pretext was found for this measure in the administration of public affairs there. The subject soon assumed the shape of a party proceeding, and Lord Clive was marked out as an object for the censure on which it was to be founded. With little information on the subject, beyond that which his lordship had himself voluntarily furnished, General Burgoyne, the Chairman of the Select Committee, moved a resolution, on the 21st of February, 1773, to the effect that Lord Clive had possessed himself of sums amounting to two hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds, under the denomination of private gifts, to the dishonour and detriment of the State.

Lord Clive defended himself against this attack upon his fortune and his honour with great ability and eloquence. To convince the House of the falsehood of the charge against him was not difficult. Every action of his life had been sufficiently public, and perhaps the most triumphant refutation of the slander was the amount of his wealth, large as it was. If he had been actuated by such motives as were imputed to him, his gains, considering the power and opportunities he possessed, would have been reck-

ROBERT, LORD CLIVE.

oned by millions. His vindication consisted of a minute detail of all the circumstances connected with the subject under discussion. "If," he said, in conclusion, "the resolution proposed should receive the assent of the House, I shall have nothing left that I can call my own, except my paternal fortune of eight hundred pounds a year, and which has been in the family for ages past. But upon this I am content to live; and perhaps I shall find in it more real content of mind and happiness than in the trembling affluence of an unsettled fortune. But to be called, after sixteen years have elapsed, to account for my conduct in this manner, and after an uninterrupted enjoyment of my property, to be questioned, and considered as having obtained it unwarrantably, is hard indeed, and a treatment of which I should think the British Senate incapable. Yet, if this should be the case, I have a conscious innocence within me which tells me that my conduct is irreproachable;—Frangas, non flectes. They may take from me what I have;—they may, as they think, make me poor, but I will be happy. Before I sit down, I have but one request to make to the House, that when they come to decide upon my honour, they will not forget their own." The frank manliness of his explanation won the confidence of the more candid portion of the assembly, and shamed the others from the dishonourable project they had conceived. The House negatived the proposed resolution by a large majority, and notwithstanding the opposition of the minister, Lord North, agreed "that Lord Clive had rendered great and meritorious services to his country."

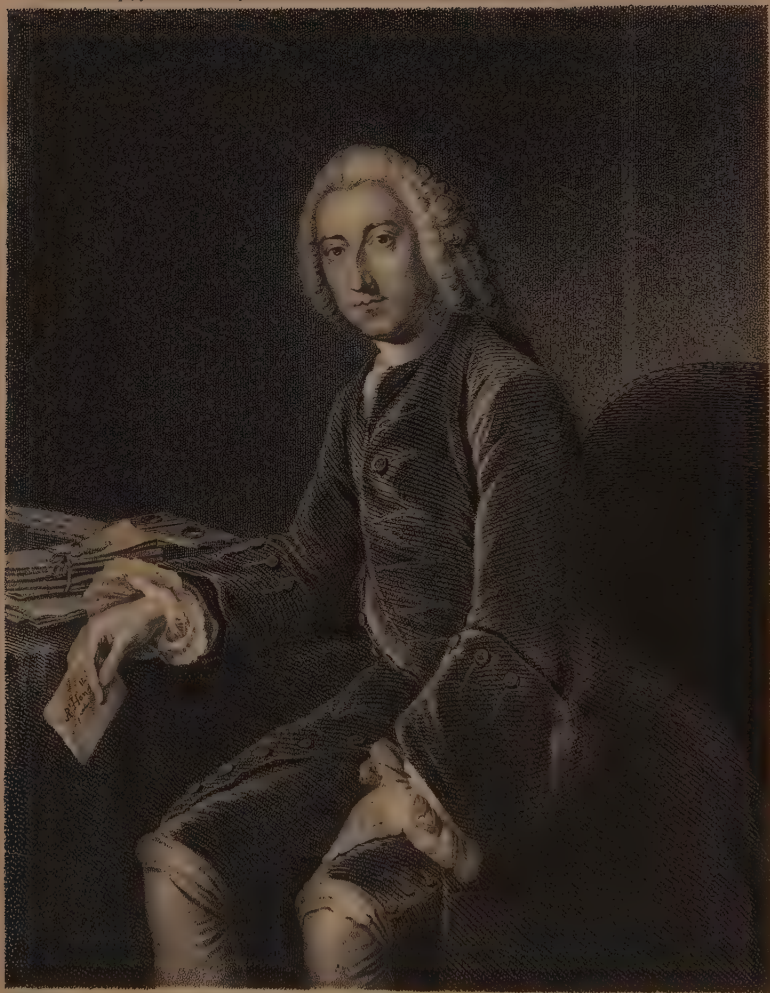
From this time, the infirmity to which he had been long subject, and which was only relieved by the excitement of some engrossing and active pursuit, increased. At the commencement of hostilities with America, the chief command of the army destined for that country was offered to him, but declined on the score of his ill health and failing strength. His spirits never recovered their tone; his reason sunk under the weight of despondency, which disease, and perhaps disappointment, had engendered, and in an

ROBERT, LORD CLIVE.

access of delirium his existence terminated on the 22d of November, 1774.

Possessing a fertile and original genius, and implicit reliance upon his own resources, he was less indebted for his triumphs to the assistance of others than most men who have achieved greatness in the career he pursued. His judgment was correct, and the firmness and decision of his character fitted him for command. He is said to have possessed, in a very remarkable degree, the rare talent of inspiring confidence in those who acted under him ; and to this may be in some degree ascribed the rapid success of his exploits in a profession for which he was not educated, and in which the natural bent of his genius supplied the want of more regular instruction. In Parliament he spoke rarely, but never without displaying remarkable ability. In private life his social qualities made him universally esteemed ; he was generous and charitable, and, besides many acts of secret beneficence, he bestowed a sum of seventy thousand pounds for the support of invalids in the service of the East India Company.

He married, in India, in 1753, Margaret, daughter of Edmund Maskelyne, Esq., of Purton, in Wiltshire, and sister of the celebrated astronomer of that name, by whom he had nine children, the eldest of whom, Edward, succeeded him in his title and estates, and, having married the heir general of the then lately extinct Earls of Powis, was in 1804 elevated to that dignity ; Richard, and Robert, who died young and unmarried ; another Robert, in the army ; Rebecca, wife of John Robinson, of Denston Hall, in Suffolk ; Margaret, married to Lieutenant Colonel Lambert Theodore Walpole ; Jane, Charlotte, and Elizabeth, who died unmarried.



Engraved by W. Hill.

WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM.

OB. 1778.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOARE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} LORD BRIDPORT.

WILLIAM PITT,

FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM.

THE existing condition of society precludes men who devote themselves to public business from encountering those accidents and from engaging in those adventures which at more remote periods of history have often shed the colours of romance over the realities of their lives. They are seldom distinguished by any remarkable events, personal to themselves, from their contemporaries ; and when the public measures in which they have taken part, and the result of the national councils which they have directed shall have been described, the lives of most modern statesmen will have been written.

William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham, was the second son of Robert Pitt, Esquire, of Boconnock, in Cornwall, the eldest son of Governor Pitt, the purchaser of the celebrated Pitt diamond, the largest then known to be in existence. His family was of respectable but not illustrious origin, and had been long settled in Dorsetshire. He was born at Westminster on the fifteenth of November, 1708 ; was educated at Eton ; and was matriculated of Trinity College, Oxford, in January, 1726. The frequent and painful attacks of an hereditary gout which assailed him in his boyhood, and from which he suffered acutely during the whole of his life, prevented him from so applying himself to study as to acquire any distinguished academical honours. The abundant leisure, however, which the frequent confinements occasioned by his malady afforded him, was not neglected. He perused with all the ardour of a

WILLIAM PITT,

congenial spirit the productions of the orators and historians of Greece and Rome, and imbibed from them that lofty and impassioned tone which first served to distinguish him in the British senate.

After making the tour of France and part of Italy, he returned to England, and the scantiness of his paternal fortune making it incumbent upon him to choose some professional pursuit, a cornetcy in the Blues was purchased for him.

In 1735 he was returned to Parliament for the borough of Old Sarum, which had been represented by his father and grandfather, and by this accident, or rather, as we may, without superstition, believe, by one of those arrangements which allot to human beings the posts in which they can most usefully exert the talents that have been bestowed upon them, he entered upon the career in which of all others he was most fitted to shine. The House of Commons was then under the management of Sir Robert Walpole, who had been too long used to the exercise of power to brook opposition where he thought he had the strength to crush it. Mr. Pitt having joined the ranks of opposition, was marked by the minister as an object of his vengeance, while the ability and talent which the young member had displayed hastened the blow. In accordance with the spirit of those times, when an opposition to the measures of government on the part of a military officer was looked upon as a species of insubordination, if not mutiny, Mr. Pitt was dismissed from his Majesty's service. The other engines by which Walpole maintained his influence were set at work to effect his object of humbling, and, as he perhaps hoped, of silencing an opponent, the sin of whose intractability was increased by his youth and the boldness with which he had avowed his opinions. In proportion as he was decried by one party, he became the idol of the other, and by these means, aided by the fierce indignation to which he had been roused by his undeserved persecution, he gained the first portion of that popular applause the love of which was the infatuation that beset his whole political life. The misunderstanding between the Prince of Wales and his father

FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM.

George the Second, which had been long smothered, burst out in the year 1737 into an open and scandalous breach, and on some of the officers of the Prince's household throwing up their places, they were filled by the more distinguished members of the opposition. In this change, several of Mr. Pitt's friends openly proclaimed themselves the adherents of the heir-apparent, and Mr. Pitt accepted the post of His Royal Highness's Groom of the Bedchamber.

From this moment, if not at an earlier period, he must be looked upon as having committed himself entirely to the stormy sea of politics. Diligent and earnest in his attendance at the House of Commons, he frequently distinguished himself in the debates, and displayed a firmness of purpose as well as a facility of speech and readiness of reply which made him equally serviceable to the cause of which he was the adherent, and formidable to those who had provoked his enmity. In 1738, the position of this country with respect to Spain excited the liveliest interest. A convention had been entered into of which the preliminaries were definitively signed in the beginning of 1739. Against this treaty the warmest opposition was directed, and among the most vehement supporters of that opposition was Mr. Pitt. The versions of such of his speeches during this period as remain can only be received as representations of the general effect of what they were intended to convey. The greater part of them were written by Dr. Johnson for a periodical publication of the time, and bear marks of his peculiar style. Still it is unquestionable that the future statesman had established a reputation for eloquence which no man of his years had previously gained in Parliament, and he had at the same time, by his intrepid denunciation of measures which he thought objectionable on the part of the government, or injurious to the interests of the nation, gained a large party among those classes of the community in which public opinion is always most loudly uttered.

The parliamentary session of 1741 convinced Walpole that it was impossible for him much longer to withstand the general dissatisfaction he had excited. In the Parliament which ensued, his defeat upon several occasions rendered this still more evident.

WILLIAM PITT,

He resigned—a new administration was formed, the constitution of which being repugnant to the principles of which he approved, Mr. Pitt continued with untiring energy to oppose their measures. A substantial testimony of approbation of his public conduct was rendered about this time by an individual who, with no mean powers of judgment, had been long a close observer of the political affairs of this country—Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, who in 1744 bequeathed to him a legacy of £10,000, “Upon account of his merit in the noble defence he had made for the support of the laws of England, and to prevent the ruin of his country.”

The exertions which had ensured to him so large a share of the public approbation had, however, operated with a directly contrary effect upon the sources from which office and advancement flow. His strenuous opposition to the measures by which England was made to bear a burthensome share in continental warfare, for the sake of the King’s favourite possession, Hanover, had so exasperated George the Second, that he unhesitatingly expressed his dislike of him, and refused to admit him into any share of the administration; nor was it until February 1746, when ministers resorted to the hazardous expedient of a general resignation, that his Majesty’s determination could be shaken. Then it was, and under the pressure of the embarrassment into which the conduct of his advisers had cast him, that he bestowed upon Mr. Pitt the office of Vice-treasurer of Ireland, and in the May following that of Paymaster-General.

The possession of office worked no change in Mr. Pitt’s public conduct. While he used the authority with which he was now invested to give effect to the principles he had ever advocated, his uncompromising hatred of all that was unjust or base betrayed him into such a haughtiness of demeanour, an error to which his temper was prone, as estranged many and incensed some of his colleagues, and added to that spirit of disunion which had long pervaded the cabinet. The King’s dislike of him, which the Monarch hardly took the pains to conceal, wounded his pride; and the conviction that it was permitted, if not fomented, by the

FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM.

Duke of Newcastle, exasperated Mr. Pitt to that degree, that he was not unwilling to find an opportunity for quitting a ministry, the head of which he cordially detested and had almost openly insulted. During the sessions of 1753 and 1754, he took the least possible share in the debates in parliament, and in that of 1755, his opposition to a subsidiary treaty which the King had concluded with Russia, and by which that power was to receive a large sum of money from Great Britain for providing a force for the general defence, brought about his dismissal from office.

The measures of the new administration were not of a nature calculated to endure the severe inspection and vigorous opposition which Mr. Pitt now openly carried on against them. The war had been unsuccessful ; and the disgrace and loss to which the nation's honour and interests had been exposed drew down the loudest animadversions on the government, whose internal discords wholly incapacitated them from encountering the storm they had raised. A sense of their danger led them to listen to the general wish, that Mr. Pitt should be called upon to repair the consequences of their feeble counsels, and in October, 1756, the Duke of Newcastle, humbled and discomfited, made overtures to him to join the ministry, and assured him of that which they both knew was untrue, that the King would be well pleased to have him in his service. Mr. Pitt answered shortly, that he would accept of no office under the Duke. Upon this explicit refusal being communicated to the King, he authorized the Duke of Devonshire to offer to Mr. Pitt the formation of a new administration on his own terms, with the single condition, that Mr. Fox should be retained in it ; and this offer also Mr. Pitt declined to accept. He was then asked to name his conditions, and having done so, they were immediately accepted ; and in November, 1756, he entered upon the management of the public business as principal Secretary of State.

The plans of the new administration were better calculated to satisfy the public opinion which had been instrumental in its formation, than the particular views of the Monarch, who had been

compelled to resort to it against his inclination. Mr. Pitt was not less willing than the King himself to enter vigorously upon the prosecution of a war with France ; but they differed equally in their notions of the manner in which it should be conducted and respecting the end to which it should subserve. Mr. Pitt's policy was to humble the power of France, whose continental encroachments he had long observed with the utmost jealousy, and to secure the prosperity of England by maintaining a due balance of power in the European states ; but he was inflexibly resolved not to sanction the enormous sacrifices which the King was willing to make for the mere protection of Hanover. An army had been prepared to act under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, in Germany, and a supply of money being demanded for this service, with which Mr. Pitt and his colleague, Mr. Legge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, explicitly refused to comply, they were, in April, 1757, ordered to resign their offices. The Duke of Cumberland set out upon his ill-omened expedition, which in less than half a year terminated in the disgraceful capitulation of Kloster-Seven.

No similar event had at any period of English history produced so powerful a sensation upon the public mind as the dismissal of Mr. Pitt. Addresses of thanks were tendered to him from all quarters, and the freedoms of the principal corporations of the kingdom were unanimously voted to him in the most flattering terms. Those persons even who had been opposed to him and his measures looked with dismay at the consequences of his being withdrawn from the public service under such circumstances as had accompanied his dismissal, and at a time when his knowledge and promptitude of action rendered his assistance more than ever indispensable. The Duke of Newcastle was among the first to implore the King to recall him. The Monarch complied, with a reluctance which the exigency of the juncture made deeply painful and humiliating, and in June, 1757, Mr. Pitt again took office, not only without the recommendation of any of those powerful connections which commonly lead to such distinction, but directly

FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM.

against the wish of the King, whose councils he was called upon to direct. He owed his elevation solely to the general belief that the nation was cast into a state of difficulty and danger, from which he was, of all public men, if not the only one, the most capable of extricating it. Again he had the formation of the ministry; but grown wiser from experience, he now included in it the Duke of Newcastle, whose influence in the House of Commons he had found was useful, if not necessary, for carrying on the public business.

The task which lay before him was a most arduous one. The King's obstinate prejudices and the ill-conceived operations of those ministers who had too readily favoured them, had involved the nation in difficulties from which it required the utmost energy and activity to rescue it. Mr. Pitt entered upon his office with vigour and determination; but his first measures were so unsuccessful, that they would have discouraged a less constant spirit than his. A marine expedition, which he had directed against Rochefort, returned without having effected its object. In America, the French arms were decidedly victorious; while the condition of the King of Prussia, pressed on every side, excited reasonable alarms that the British interests on the Continent must yield to the predominance of the same hostile powers. It was to avert this danger that Mr. Pitt's most earnest efforts had been at all times directed, and he now saw that, by supporting Frederic of Prussia, he should be able to accomplish the object for which he had always so strenuously laboured, and to carry into effect his plan, which was contained in the prophetic expression, that "America must be conquered in Germany," the truth of which was afterwards so clearly evinced. The affairs of the country soon resumed a more promising aspect; and the signal victory obtained by Frederic, at the battle of Rosbach, over the French and Austrian armies, afforded an opportunity by which England was enabled, at a comparatively small charge, to maintain her own continental possessions, and to keep in effectual check her most formidable enemy. This event at once convinced George the

WILLIAM PITT,

Second of the profoundness and accuracy of his minister's views and won from him that confidence which he had been tardy in bestowing, but which he never afterwards withdrew. The punctuality, the talent, and the inflexible probity of Mr. Pitt in the discharge of his duty as a public servant, had mainly contributed to bring about this fortunate aspect of affairs. To trace the events of the seven years' war which continued during this part of Mr. Pitt's administration would here be superfluous ; but it may with indisputable truth be stated, that in every quarter of the globe the British arms were triumphant, and that while they ensured the respect of all foreign nations, the same spirit which had produced that result had been equally fortunate in bringing the domestic and internal concerns of the empire to a flourishing and prosperous state.

The death of George the Second put an end to all the happy prospects which had begun to dawn upon the country. The influence of Lord Bute—more fatal and pernicious from the secrecy with which it was often exercised—began to shed itself over the public councils. France, humbled and weakened by the war to the last degree, had proposed to enter upon a treaty ; and the negotiations had been begun, but proceeded tardily, when Mr. Pitt received from Lord Marischal, the King of Prussia's minister at Madrid, information which convinced him of the dishonesty of the French Cabinet, and of an intended treachery on the part of the Spanish government. Acting upon the knowledge he had thus obtained, he proposed an immediate attack upon Spain by intercepting the supplies of specie then on their way from America, and for the receipt of which she was waiting only to make public the arrangement that had been entered into. The reception which this proposition met with in the council convinced him of the impracticability of attempting to carry on the government with such colleagues as the cabinet was now composed of. He urged the measure with all the force of his eloquence, and all his powers of reasoning, but in vain ; Lord Bute openly opposed it, and many of the other ministers thought so important a measure required

FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM.

great deliberation. At a time when moments were of the utmost importance to the success of the measure, to deliberate was to reject it. Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple gave their advice to the King in writing to recall the English minister from Madrid ; and this advice being rejected, they resigned on the 5th of October, 1761. Three months afterwards, the English cabinet declared war against Spain, when the opportunity of doing so with effect had passed away ; when the gross and repeated insults of the court of Spain had left them no alternative, and had deprived them of the credit as well as advantage which would have been gained by adopting Mr. Pitt's advice.

Mr. Pitt's resignation was accepted by the King, not without regret, as his Majesty said, although this expression was unaccompanied by any desire that he should continue in office. The interview which took place on this occasion between the King and the minister is said to have been creditable to the feelings of both. His Majesty, acknowledging the services which the latter had rendered to his country, requested him to name any recompense it was in the power of the Crown to grant ; and Mr. Pitt, whose emotion at first prevented him from replying, having expressed a desire that his wife should be raised to the peerage, His Majesty directed a warrant to be prepared for creating her Baroness of Chatham, with a limitation of the title to her heirs male : and added to it the grant of a pension of £3000 per annum to Mr. Pitt for his own life, that of his lady, and of their eldest son. Although such a reward will not now be considered to have exceeded the merits in respect of which it was bestowed, it exposed Mr. Pitt at the time to the rancorous abuse of the hirelings of the party by which he had been defeated ; while the public applause, and the satisfaction of his own conscience, were at least enough to console him for the undeserved charges of apostacy and desertion which were plentifully brought against him.

The war was carried on with indifferent success until the latter part of 1762, when on the meeting of Parliament in November, the terms of a treaty of peace with France and Spain were submitted

to the House. Mr. Pitt, though suffering from so acute an attack of gout that he was unable to stand, opposed the preliminaries, on the ground that they fell short of what the country had a right to demand. His illness compelled him to close his address, one of the most powerful and elaborate he ever delivered in parliament, before he had exhausted the subject on which he was speaking, and to leave the House before the division.

From this period, as often as his health permitted, he took part in the debates of the House of Commons, maintaining upon all occasions that consistency of opinion for which he was most remarkable, and which was never shaken. The death of Lord Egremont, in August, 1763, opened the way to a negociation for his again assuming office, and having consented to some treaty with Lord Bute, he had an interview with the King, by his Majesty's command, in which his advice for the formation of an administration, of which he was to be the head, was tendered by him, and received by the King with unequivocal marks of approbation. This interview was followed by another a few days afterwards, in which Mr. Pitt found that the secret influence which he had often before experienced had been exerted, and that whatever might at first have induced the King to request his advice, he had since determined not to adopt it. The causes by which this change of intention had been effected remain as deeply secret as many other state intrigues; but the King's behaviour on the occasion induced Mr. Pitt to say, that his Majesty was the greatest courtier of his court.

The parliamentary proceedings of 1763 were rendered memorable by the debates on the question of privilege raised by Mr. Wilkes's publication of a celebrated number of the *North Briton*. Mr. Pitt on this occasion made an admirable speech, in which he condemned in terms of the bitterest censure and scorn the scandalous libels of Wilkes, which he called illiberal, unmanly, and detestable; but at the same time he insisted that, while the courts of justice possessed the power to punish such an offender, the House sacrificed its own honour and safety, and the interests of

FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM.

the people, by undertaking to pronounce a sentence upon him. In the ensuing session, he supported with great ability the motion for declaring general warrants illegal. Although these efforts had no more fortunate results than commonly attend the labours of the opposition against such a government as then existed, the fame which he had acquired in the country was by no means diminished by his want of success. His name was constantly referred to as a patriot whose ability and virtue all men recognized. Flattering marks of the estimation in which he was held, even by persons who knew him only as a public man, were frequently bestowed upon him, the most remarkable of which was, a bequest made to him by Sir William Pynsent, of Burton Pynsent, in Somersetshire, of an estate of nearly £3000 per annum.

In 1765 the utter inefficiency of the existing ministry was so sensibly felt that Lord Bute, whose influence with the Monarch was at this time paramount, prevailed upon him to authorise overtures being made by the Duke of Cumberland, first to Lord Temple, and afterwards to Mr. Pitt, for their joining the administration. A stipulation was however proposed by the Duke, that the Earl of Northumberland should be at the head of the Treasury, to which Mr. Pitt not agreeing, the negotiation broke off. In the same year the King himself attempted that which his uncle had failed to effect, but with no better success; and at length a new ministry was formed, of which the Duke of Newcastle and the Marquis of Rockingham were the chiefs.

The ensuing Parliament introduced a subject of deep moment, and fraught with consequences to which it is impossible now to look back without sincere regret. The quarrel between England and America had commenced, which afterwards terminated so disastrously. Mr. Pitt exerted himself strenuously, but unsuccessfully, to lay down the principles upon which England had a right to exercise authority over her flourishing colony, and the limits by which that authority ought to be circumscribed.

In 1766 it became apparent that Lord Rockingham was unable to carry on the administration, and through Lord Northington

then Lord Chancellor, Mr. Pitt was applied to, and, after some negotiation, received full powers to form an administration. His conduct upon this occasion displayed less sagacity than almost any event of his public life. The first step which he made was one of ill omen, for he quarrelled with his early and fast friend Lord Temple, who thought he was disposed to arrogate to himself a greater share of authority than he had a right to possess. Some of his appointments were bestowed upon men who were unqualified by their talents, and of whose fidelity and co-operation he had no reason to be assured; while many of his friends, and many more whom he might have made his friends, were chagrined and disgusted by the unconciliating and even haughty manner in which he gave or offered them places. Having chosen for himself the office of Privy Seal, he was created a peer in July, 1766, by the title of Viscount Pitt, of Burton Pynsent, in the county of Somerset, and Earl of Chatham, in Kent. His administration was marked by no portion of that success which had made his former possession of power advantageous to the country and glorious to himself. The increasing infirmities which had grown upon him with years incapacitated him for very active exertions; while the conviction that he could neither rely with certainty on the approbation of the Monarch, nor on the support of his colleagues, disinclined him from making the efforts of which he was still capable. The determination which had been evinced to adopt a course towards America the very reverse of that he had counselled, soon left him no choice but to quit an office which he could no longer hold with comfort or credit to himself; and on the appointment of Lord Hillsborough, in the latter part of 1768, to the post of Secretary of State for the Colonies, he sent the privy seal to the King by Lord Camden.

The opening of Parliament in 1770 found him once more in the list of the opposition; and here a great portion of that energy which had marked his earlier efforts seemed again to raise him above the effects of the old age which had come upon him, and the constant illness which made his years doubly burthensome.

FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM.

He opposed the right of the House of Commons to expel Mr. Wilkes after his re-election with great power, and with eloquence which would have graced a better cause. From this period until 1774 he appeared but little in Parliament; the quarrel with America had then assumed a more serious aspect, and he again raised his warning voice in the hope of preventing the disasters which he saw must ensue if some conciliatory measures were not adopted. His advice was unheeded; and a bill which he submitted to the House in the following year for quieting the troubles in America was at once rejected. Not discouraged by their ill-success, he continued his exertions upon this subject, and when, in 1777, the Duke of Grafton resigned his office of Lord Privy Seal, because he could not conscientiously support the measures in contemplation against that colony, Lord Chatham moved an address to the King for putting a stop to hostilities. He pointed out to the government that France and Spain were watching to take advantage of the errors committed by the English government. His fears were treated as visionary and groundless; but soon after his motion was negatived, the justice of his views was manifested by the treaty which the court of Versailles entered into with the revolted colonies.

† To this subject every subsequent effort of his life was directed, and it was ended in the support of that cause in which he believed his country's welfare was most deeply concerned. Worn out by bodily pain and mental anxiety, he appeared on the 7th of April, 1778, in the House of Lords, when a motion was made by the Duke of Richmond for an address on the state of the nation, in which the necessity of admitting the independence of America was suggested. Although he had counselled with sincerity and indefatigable perseverance the adoption of such measures as were just on the part of this country towards the colony, the idea of yielding up the sovereignty of America was too painful and humiliating to be endured by him whose best energies had been spent in the endeavour to uphold the glory of the nation and to defeat her enemies. He conjured the house to do any thing rather than

WILLIAM PITT,

encounter the disgrace of the measure proposed by the address, and at least to make one becoming effort, so that if they should fall, they would fall like men. His suffering here compelled him to sit down; and Lord Temple, with whom he had then for some years been reconciled, reminded him that he had not submitted to the House that plan of pacification which they had discussed in conversation. He replied that he would do it by and by. At a later period of the evening he attempted to rise again, but after two or three ineffectual efforts to stand, he fainted and fell down on his seat. The hand of death was upon him. The House was cleared, medical assistance procured, and after a short time he was conveyed to his seat at Hayes, where he lingered until the 11th of May following, when he expired.

✧ Lord Chatham was married in 1754 to Hesther, only daughter of Richard Grenville, Esquire, and sister to Lord Temple, who has been before mentioned. At his death he left three sons, John, who succeeded him; William, who with better fortune achieved a reputation not less glorious than his father's; and Charles, who died unmarried at Barbadoes, in 1780. His Lordship left also two daughters, of whom Lady Hesther was married, in 1774, to Earl Stanhope; and Lady Harriot, who in 1785 married the Hon. Edward James Eliot, eldest son of the first Lord Eliot.

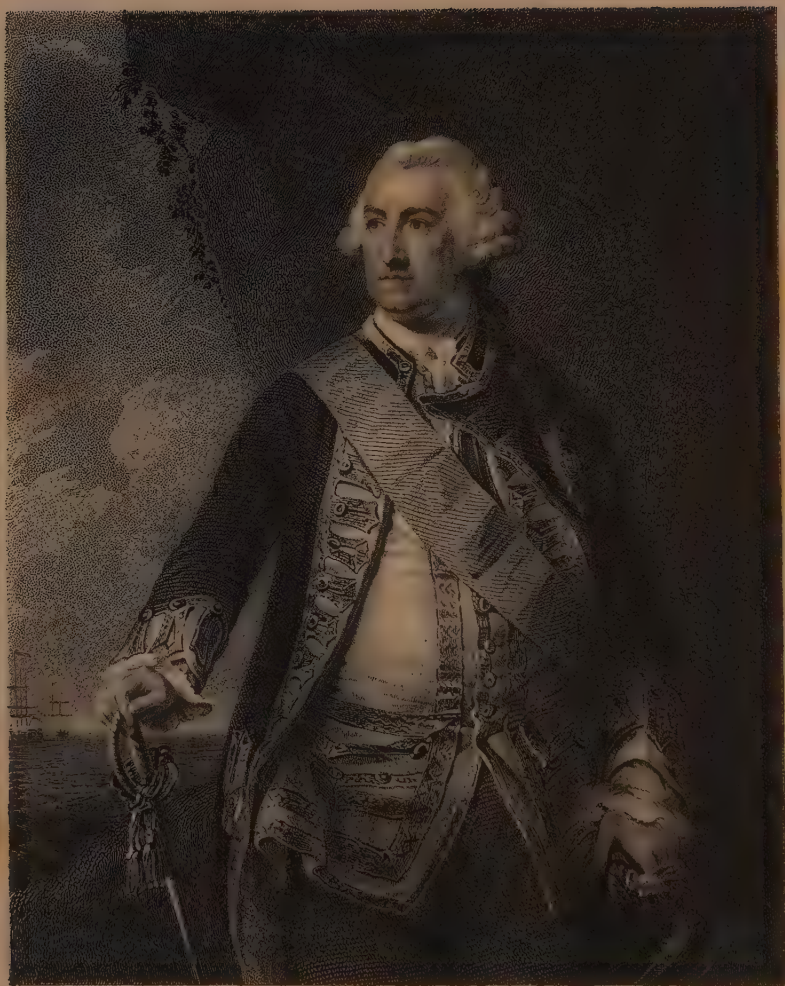
His death having extinguished all party feeling, both Houses of Parliament testified in the warmest terms the respect they bore to his unstained virtues and rare talents. A public funeral, and a monument in Westminster Abbey, were decreed to him; and a grant of an annuity of £4000 to his eldest son and his heirs-male, Earls of Chatham, with the sum of £20,000 for the payment of his debts, were unanimously voted by Parliament, and sanctioned by the King.

✧ His reputation as a statesman will ever rank him among the greatest men in whom England glories. The principles of the politics which he advocated may be concisely stated. An ardent lover of freedom, he vindicated on all occasions the liberty of the subject, and the free institutions of the country; and although he

FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM.

coveted power, and spent his life in honest endeavours to attain it, his labours were neither for the purpose of enriching himself nor his friends, but for the advancement of the honour and prosperity of the nation, and for the humiliation and destruction of its foes. Nature, who had bestowed upon him that fluent eloquence which qualified him better than any of his contemporaries for the station he filled, had gifted him with a temperament that added all the force of true feeling and lofty passion to the expression of his opinions, and commanded the respect and attention of all who heard him. His features were of a noble and highly intellectual character, and his eagle eye gave irresistible power and animation to them. His voice, powerful, and of a commanding tone at all times, is said to have assumed an almost terrific sound when he uttered those torrents of indignant censure, or withering sarcasm, which the conduct of his antagonists sometimes provoked. In private life he was gentle and amiable ; punctual in the discharge of all social offices ; but strict only to himself, he was indulgent and considerate to others. In the fulfilment of his public duties, his application was intensely laborious, and his probity without the slightest blemish or imputation ; but these estimable qualities were accompanied by a haughtiness of manner, an impatience of contradiction, and a love of domination, which, although they could not deprive him of the admiration due to his character and conduct, prevented him from gaining as many friends as his virtues and his station would otherwise have surrounded him with. The only excuse that can be offered for the faults which it was his lot to bear is expressed in the estimate given of him by Frederic of Prussia, one of the most sharp-sighted observers of the characters of men in his own times. Speaking of Lord Chatham, the Monarch says. “ Il avait l'âme élevée, et l'esprit capable de grands projets. Doué d'une fermeté inflexible, il ne renonçait pas à ses opinions, parce qu'il les croyait avantageuses à sa patrie, qui était son idole.”

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Engraved by W. Holl.

ADMIRAL LORD HAWKE.

OB. 1781.

FROM THE ORIGINAL BY COTES. IN

THE NAVAL GALLERY AT GREENWICH HOSPITAL.

EDWARD, LORD HAWKE.

THIS able and intrepid commander was the only son of Edward Hawke, Esq. a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, and of Elizabeth, daughter of Nathaniel Bladen, Esq. and widow of Colonel Ruthven. He was born in 1705 ; entered the Navy at an early age ; and passed, by regular but not rapid gradations, to the rank of captain in the year 1734, when he commanded his Majesty's ship the *Flamborough*. Although constantly employed, he found no opportunity of distinguishing himself until the memorable engagement in which Admirals Matthews, Lestock, and Rowley, commanded the British force against the combined fleets of France and Spain off Toulon. The personal animosity of the commanders, and the want of co-operation which it occasioned, thwarted the result which might have been reasonably expected from the battle. In the disgrace which was that day brought upon the fame of England Captain Hawke had no share. The Captain of *El Poder*, a Spanish sixty-gun ship of the line, had gallantly engaged the *Princesa* and *Somerset*, which, though each of superior force, were compelled to quit the line. Captain Hawke, who then commanded the *Berwick*, of seventy-four guns, observing their danger, broke the line, bore down upon their assailants, and, after a sharp conflict, the *Poder* was compelled to strike, and Captain Hawke sent a Lieutenant and twenty-three men to take possession of her. The French

EDWARD, LORD HAWKE.

fleet having afterwards tacked upon her, and the lieutenant being unable to prevail upon his men to quit the prize, she was retaken; but was found to be so disabled that they deserted her, and she was burnt the next day, by order of Admiral Matthews. Hawke was tried for disobedience of orders in quitting the line, and it being indisputable that he had done so, he was broke, but was immediately afterwards restored to his rank by order of His Majesty.

In July 1747, he was appointed Rear-Admiral of the White, and in the beginning of the following August sailed from Plymouth, with a squadron consisting of fourteen ships of the line, for the purpose of intercepting a fleet of French merchantmen, bound for the West Indies. After cruising for some time on the coast of Britany he fell in with the object of his vigilance, which was under the convoy of nine ships of the line, and several frigates commanded by M. De L'Entendiere. On the 14th of October, soon after day-light, the two squadrons came in sight of each other. Admiral Hawke immediately made signals for forming the line of battle a-head; but perceiving that time was lost in executing this order, and that the merchant ships were crowding away with all the sail they could set, while the ships of war were endeavouring to protect their escape by forming in line astern of them, he made a signal for the whole squadron to chase, and when, within a proper distance, to engage. At eleven o'clock the hostile fleets encountered, and the battle lasted till night, when all the French ships, with the exception of L'Intrepide and Le Tonnant, had struck to the English. The Admiral commanded the Devonshire of sixty-six guns, in which he had his full share of the hottest part of the engagement, and terminated it by compelling the Terrible of seventy-four guns to strike. The fight was maintained with great courage on the part of the enemy, and, in the words of the Admiral's despatches, "as their ships were large they took a great deal of drubbing, and lost all their masts, excepting two who had their foremasts left." Taking advantage of the wind and the darkness, Le Tonnant and L'Intrepide got

EDWARD, LORD HAWKE.

away into Brest harbour. The disposition which the French Admiral had made before the engagement commenced had ensured the safe retreat of the merchantmen, under the guard of a line-of-battle ship and some large frigates. Immediately after the action Admiral Hawke dispatched a sloop to Commodore Pocock, whose squadron was stationed at the Leeward Islands, with intelligence of the fleet that had escaped him, in consequence of which the Commodore looked out for them with so much success, that several fell into his hands. Having put his prizes into sailing condition, Admiral Hawke returned on the 31st of October to Portsmouth with six of the enemy's ships of the line, when his courage and skill were rewarded by his being created one of the Knights Companions of the Bath.

In January 1748, he sailed with a squadron of nine ships for the Bay of Biscay, but the intervention of the peace prevented him from undertaking any operation of note. While in this employment he was raised to the rank of Vice Admiral of the Blue, and was elected an Elder brother of the Trinity House. From this period until 1756, he was actively employed in various services connected with his profession, and in June in the same year, after the disastrous affair at Minorca, he was sent to supersede Admiral Byng in the command of the Mediterranean squadron. His force being augmented by five sail of the line from England, he hastened to Minorca, where he had the mortification to see the French colours flying on the fort, the capitulation having been executed shortly before his arrival, and M. de la Galissoniere having retired from those seas. Although he was thus disappointed of the opportunity he sought of wiping off the disgrace which the British Navy had sustained, he at least maintained the empire of Great Britain in the Mediterranean, by annoying the commerce of the enemy, and blocking up their squadron in the harbour of Toulon. He acted with great spirit during this cruise in demanding the release of *Fortunatus Wright*, the Captain of an English privateer, and indemnity for his detention from the officers of the Austrian Government at Leghorn. Wright was lying

EDWARD, LORD HAWKE.

in the harbour of Leghorn, with his little vessel, the *St. George* of Liverpool, carrying twelve guns and eighty men, when a French xebec of sixteen guns, and three times the number of his crew, took up a station in front of the harbour for the purpose of intercepting the British commerce. Wright immediately attacked the French ship, and, after an obstinate conflict, in which the captain, lieutenant, and sixty of the crew of the French vessel were killed, beat it off, and returned to the harbour. Under the pretence that he had violated the neutrality of the port, the authorities at Leghorn put him in prison, and detained his vessel and men. Sir Edward Hawke, on learning this, sent two ships of war to insist on his immediate release. Hawke's firmness and decision were so well known that the persons in office there, thought proper, without waiting for orders from Vienna, to comply with this demand, and Wright, who had established a high reputation for bravery on some previous occasions, was again restored to the possession of his vessel. Having scoured the Mediterranean and harassed the enemy's trade there, Sir Edward Hawke returned with the homeward bound fleet to Gibraltar, and at the latter end of the year, leaving such part of his squadron as was necessary to protect the Mediterranean trade against the French privateers, sailed for England.

In the year 1757, an expedition against the French coast was planned for the purpose of effecting such a diversion as might be favourable to the drooping cause of the allies in Germany. Great expectations were entertained of the success of this attack. A powerful fleet was equipped, and a large body of troops collected to accompany it. The command of the naval armament was given to Sir Edward Hawke, and that of the land force to Sir John Mordaunt. On the 23d of September the fleet anchored off the river Charente, and took the Isle of Aix. Sir Edward Hawke then proposed to attack Rochefort, and suggested that by laying a sixty gun ship against the fort of Fouras, the landing of the troops might be safely effected. Sir John Mordaunt could not however be prevailed on to concur in this proceeding. A

EDWARD, LORD HAWKE.

council of war was held, in which the opinion of the Admiral was overruled, and after some days had been wasted in reconnoitring the coast, the expedition returned to England, to the disappointment of the nation, not less than of the Admiral, whose conduct in the whole of the affair was admitted by the Legislature to be free from the shadow of blame, though the ignorant populace, ever ready to condemn an unsuccessful officer, grossly insulted him on his landing at Portsmouth when he returned from the expedition.

In the month of April in the following year, he sailed with a squadron of seven ships of the line, and three frigates, into the Basque roads, where he discovered a French fleet, consisting of five ships of the line, with six frigates and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops intended for the North American Colonies. At the approach of the English fleet the French ships began to slip their cables, some stood out to sea, and others sought safety in the shallow waters of the coast, while the approach of night made any effectual pursuit impracticable. In the morning the enemy's ships were discovered in the Charente, many of them aground, and all beyond the reach of the English squadron. Sir Edward Hawke sent two of his vessels, the *Intrepid* and the *Medway*, into the channel, with orders to sound a-head, but it was found the water was too shallow to admit of their proceeding. In the mean time boats and launches had come out from Rochefort to tow the French vessels through the soft mud, as soon as they should be water borne by the rising tide, which was afterwards effected. Although he was thus disappointed of his intended capture, he completely frustrated the enemy's expedition, and, having destroyed the fortifications on Isle Madame, he returned to England, and in the following summer sailed as second in command, under Lord Anson, of a fleet destined for an attack on the French coast, but was seized with so violent a fever that he was compelled, for a time, to quit active service.

After the defeat of the French at Minden the project of an invasion of the Irish coast was resumed by the French government

EDWARD, LORD HAWKE.

with great earnestness, and a large fleet of ships of war and transports was collected in the Ports of Brest and Rochefort, under the command of M. de Conflans. To Sir Edward Hawke was committed the important duty of watching the movements of the enemy, and preventing their design. On the 18th of May 1759, he sailed from Portsmouth, and, taking up his station off Brest harbour, kept the enemy completely blocked up till the month of November, while a small squadron, under the command of Captain Duff, cruising along the whole line of coast from Britany to Poictou, harassed their trade, and captured, in the very teeth of the enemy, such of their vessels as ventured out. In November Sir Edward Hawke and his force were driven from the French coast by stress of weather. M. de Conflans immediately determined to avail himself of the opportunity which the absence of the hostile fleet afforded for sailing, and proposed to attack Captain Duff's small squadron, then in Quiberon bay, before it could receive any succour from England. Sir Edward Hawke's watchful activity however prevented the success of this design. As soon as the French fleet sailed he was in pursuit of them, and steering direct for Quiberon, he came up with them on the 20th of November off the south end of Belleisle, as they were chasing Captain Duff's force. The occasion for which he had long waited had now presented itself, and he determined to bring the enemy to an engagement. The difficulties in the way of his design were numerous and formidable. The weather was stormy, the days short, and he was on a lee shore, the navigation of which, at all times dangerous, was unknown to him, while the enemy were familiar with every shoal and rock, and M. de Conflans appeared as much bent on avoiding a battle as Sir Edward Hawke was desirous of coming to action. The French fleet kept in a body, and at the same time made as much sail as possible; the intention of their commander being evidently to draw the English ships into the perilous shallows of the coast. The English squadron nevertheless pursued with the utmost eagerness. At half-past two o'clock in the afternoon the signal for engagement was given,

EDWARD, LORD HAWKE.

each of the foremost of the English ships as they advanced poured a broadside into the sternmost of the enemy, and bore down upon their van, leaving the rear to those who came after. Sir Edward Hawke, in the *Royal George*, reserved his fire in passing through the enemy's rear, and ordered his master to bring him alongside *Le Soleil Royal*, a vessel of eighty guns, and twelve hundred men, which M. de Conflans commanded. The master represented the risque of running on a shoal in attempting this. "You have done your duty in pointing out the danger," replied Sir Edward, "now you are to comply with orders, and lay me alongside the *Soleil Royal*." The measure was effected, and the battle became general. *Le Thesée*, a ship of the line, running between the two admirals, received the fire that was intended for *Le Soleil Royal*, but in returning the first broadside foundered. The fight raged until the night made it impossible to continue the firing with any further effect; but before this two of the French ships were sunk and two others had struck. During the night several of the others escaped while the English remained at anchor off the *Isle Dumet*, in very dangerous riding. Signals of distress were heard throughout the night, but the state of the weather, which was very stormy, their ignorance of the coast, and the uncertainty whether the signals were made by friends or enemies, prevented any effectual relief being rendered by the English commander. At day break the French admiral found himself at anchor in the midst of the English fleet, when he immediately cut his cable and drove the *Soleil Royal* ashore to the westward of *Crozic*. The *Essex* was ordered, as soon as the enemy was discovered, to pursue, in attempting which she grounded on a sand bank, where the *Resolution* had already encountered the same accident. The men and stores were saved; but it being impossible to recover the ships they were burnt. The French admiral escaped from his ship, which was destroyed by his orders, and *Le Heros*, which was also stranded, shared the same fate from the English boats. *Le Juste*, another of the enemy's ships, went down at the mouth of the *Loire*.

EDWARD, LORD HAWKE.

The other French vessels having lightened themselves by throwing their cannon and stores overboard, evaded pursuit by entering the Vilaine, where the English could not follow them. The loss on the side of the English was not very considerable, while, by the result of the bold enterprise on which the admiral had ventured, the naval power of France was crippled; the projected invasion frustrated; and the country completely relieved from the suspense and alarm in which it had long been kept by the threats of the enemy.

During the remainder of the winter Sir Edward Hawke continued cruising off the coast of Britany, and by blockading the ports, prevented the possibility of the scattered enemy reuniting their naval forces. In January 1760, he was recalled from the dangerous service in which he had been employed; was presented to the King, who thanked him in the most marked manner for his exertions in the cause of the country; and rewarded him with a pension of £2000. per annum, for his own life and those of his two sons. On the twenty-eighth of the same month the Speaker of the House of Commons, in pursuance of a resolution to that effect, expressed the thanks of Parliament to the admiral for the signal victory he had obtained over the French fleet, and, in a highly complimentary speech, bore testimony to the bravery and conduct by which that victory had been achieved, and to the importance with which its results were regarded by the nation.

In the following August he sailed to the Bay of Biscay to relieve Admiral Boscawen, and directed the successful attack of Lord Howe on the fort of Dumet. On the 5th of November, 1765, he was promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral of Great Britain, and was appointed first Lord of the Admiralty on the 2d of December following, which office he retained until January 1771, when he resigned it. He was created by letters patent, dated the 20th of May, 1766, a Peer of great Britain, by the style and title of Baron Hawke of Towton in the County of York. By his marriage with Catherine, daughter and sole heiress of Walter

EDWARD, LORD HAWKE.

Brooke, Esq. of Burton Hall, Yorkshire, and coheirress of William Hammond, Esq. of Scarthingwell Hall in the same County, he had three sons and one daughter. His Lordship died at his seat at Sunbury, in Middlesex, on the 14th of October, 1781, and was succeeded in his title by Martin Bladen, his eldest son. His reputation for skill and courage in the arduous profession to which his life was devoted entitle him to be placed in the first rank of British warriors, and his greatest success, perhaps his greatest merit, is to be ascribed to the accurate judgment and intrepidity which induced him not only to disregard danger, but to break through, when the occasion required, those formal rules of attack, which had been before considered indispensable, and the observance of which had occasioned the failure of so many former leaders.

With what devotion Hawke loved his country, and how warmly he regarded the welfare of a brother officer, says the acute and accurate Locker in his Memoirs, lately published, of the “Naval Gallery of Greenwich Hospital,” may be seen in the following letter written during the last year of his life to his old friend, Admiral (afterwards Sir Francis) Geary, Commander-in-chief at Spithead.

“ My dear Sir,

“ I find by the Papers you are getting ready for sea with all the dispatch that is possible, and that you will sail the instant that it is in your power,—and, though I could wish this should get into your hands first, yet the times are so pressing, from many unfortunate events, that I think the sooner you get to my old station off Brest the better will it be for my Country. When you are there, watch those fellows as closely as a cat watches a mouse, and if once you can have the good fortune to get up with them, *make much of them*,—and don’t part with them easily.—Forgive my being so free—I love you—we have served long together, and I have your interest and happiness sincerely at heart. My dear friend, may God Almighty bless you, and may that all powerful

EDWARD, LORD HAWKE.

hand guide and protect you in the day of battle; and that you may return home with honour and glory to your country and family, is the sincere and faithful wish of him who is most truly,

“ My dear Sir,

“ Your most obedient humble Servant,

“ HAWKE.”



Engraved by W. T. Mose

CHARLES WENTWORTH, MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

OB. 1782.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF FITZWILLIAM.

CHARLES WATSON WENTWORTH,

SECOND MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

THE early years of the reign of his late Majesty, George the Third, produced a new feature in party tactics. The systematic opposition in Parliament, which commenced with the revolution, to all measures tending to encroach upon the constitutional government then established, and which has ever since subsisted in uninterrupted succession, has been the main cause of those changes which our later history records in the several ministries by which the public affairs have been conducted. In the earlier periods of that history, when the partisans of opposition had displaced a set of public servants, they cautiously chose from their own ranks those who were best qualified to fill the vacant offices, but, above all, they were scrupulously nice, as indeed might be expected, in the election of the Lord Treasurer, otherwise Prime Minister, who was mainly to direct, as the latter denomination indeed implied, the functions of his subordinates, and all the higher faculties of the state. Thus were Godolphin, Harley, Walpole, and Pelham, successively placed at the helm of public affairs, and their administrations embrace the whole period from the death of William to that of George the Second. When however that party which had supported the House of Stuart, transferred their allegiance to the House of Brunswick without changing their political principles, their opponents were forced to consider the advantages which might be derived from territorial influence, and powerful alliances, and to deem them sufficient qualifications

CHARLES WATSON WENTWORTH,

for the high office which had before been bestowed in consideration chiefly of the personal ability of the individuals by whom it was successively filled. From this period, and in consequence of the change which has been referred to, we find persons selected for the post of Prime Ministers, who in fact had little to recommend them to their offices but good intentions, and unblemished characters, and of that class of statesmen was the nobleman who will be the subject of this consequently uninteresting memoir.

He was the only son of Thomas Watson Wentworth, who had been created Marquis of Rockingham in 1746, by Mary, fourth daughter of Daniel Finch, sixth Earl of Winchelsea, and was born on the thirteenth of May, 1730, to the inheritance of a very great revenue, for the estates of the Earls of Strafford, of the first creation, with their surname of Wentworth, had passed to his paternal grandfather, Thomas Watson, who had already a splendid patrimony on the death of William the second Earl. He succeeded to those joint possessions, and to vast personal property, together with abundance of dignities, upon the death of his father, on the fourteenth of December, 1750. On the ninth of July, 1751, he was constituted Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the north and west ridings of Yorkshire, in which his principal estates were situated, and was soon after appointed a lord of the bed-chamber, and these were the only offices ever held by him till that of first minister was conferred upon him. One of the earliest acts however of his Majesty, George the Third, was to invest him with the Order of the Garter, and he was installed on the fourth of May, 1760.

The first occasion which presents him to our notice, as connected with any political concern, took place in the spring of 1763, when those members of each house of Parliament who had been always joined in a steady but hitherto ineffectual opposition to the administration of the Earl of Bute, resolved, and pledged themselves to each other, to devote severally the whole of their influence and ingenuity to the increase of their numbers, and to the organization of a plan of union, the strictness of which was

SECOND MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

perhaps new in the history of Parliament. No pains were spared, no means, however minute or remote, were neglected. In the accomplishment of their important object they sought particularly to engage the co-operation of such persons as were best adapted by their political principles to assist, and by their rank and influence to lend strength to, the cause in which they had embarked; and of those persons, the first and most important who joined them was the Marquis of Rockingham.

He entered into their views with a zeal and inflexibility which could have resulted only from conviction, founded on deep reflection and reasoning, and which were aided by a firmness of purpose of the utmost value in public affairs. He had distinctly pledged himself to the support of the party, and thought himself bound, as a man of nice honour, which he certainly was, to obey and maintain it as he did with scrupulous fidelity and exactness. When the incessant vigilance of the party of which he had become a member at length forced Lord Bute into an unexpected resignation, they had hoped to establish a completely whig Cabinet, but a motley ministry, headed by Mr. George Grenville, succeeded, and presently lost the confidence both of the Crown and the people. It subsisted by the aid of partial alterations, for somewhat more than two years, and then sank under the weight of its own feebleness and want of union, aggravated, if not produced, by the impracticability of Mr. Pitt, whose views of public policy differing from those even of his own political friends, impeded the effect of their common exertions for the common good. The same unfortunate misunderstanding now clogged the appointment of a new administration with numerous difficulties. He was entreated even by the King himself to assume the reins of government, and an ample discretion was offered to him in the choice of his colleagues, but, believing that a disposition existed on the part of the Crown to withhold from him that entire and cordial confidence, without which he could not usefully or honourably conduct the affairs of the government, he first hesitated, and finally refused the nominally eminent station to which he had

CHARLES WATSON WENTWORTH,

been invited. The King's uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, whose worth and talents justly merited the public opinion which they had gained, now took upon himself the task of forming a ministry, at the head of which, in the hope of conciliating the whigs, and Mr. Pitt, their leader, the Marquis of Rockingham was placed on the tenth of July, 1765.

Mr. Pitt however took the earliest opportunity of testifying his disapprobation, for on the opening of the first session after their appointment he opposed the usual address to the Throne, declaring that he should deny his confidence to the new ministers. A more adverse event presently followed. The Duke of Cumberland, who had devoted himself to their support, was taken off by a sudden death within a few weeks after they had entered on their offices. Originally feeble, and further weakened by these untoward events, the dawn of the quarrel with America, which had commenced a little before they were appointed, filled them with dismay. Their policy, although the result of good intentions, was too short-sighted to effect the objects they proposed. They passed some measures by which the domestic and foreign commerce were improved, the most important of which was the treaty with Russia. But although the integrity of their designs was not questioned, the violence of party feeling which then raged prevented them from gaining the credit and stability necessary to their continuance in office. After some efforts to court support by the repeal of the stamp act, of the excise on cider, and by a declaration of the illegality of general warrants, their inefficiency became matter of public observation, and they were finally overset by a stratagem of one of their own body, and he a man of no commanding reputation or influence, either personal or political, the Chancellor Northington.

During this very brief administration, for it barely lasted twelve months, the Premier seems not to have played a very important part, and having contributed to its character little more than a creditable name, was dismissed without either praise or censure, and passed into retirement without exciting much

SECOND MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

triumph in his adversaries, or regret in his friends. The addresses which were presented to him on the occasion, were couched but in general terms, and by no means lavish in acknowledging his talents. He had, it is true, one eulogist, in himself a host, whose warmth of heart, and powers of expression, stimulated too as they were by private gratitude, prompted him to bear an eloquent testimony to the qualities and merits of his friend and patron.—The great Edmund Burke, who commenced his splendid career in the station of private secretary to Lord Rockingham, thus descants on the talents and conduct of his noble patron in that celebrated speech of the nineteenth of April, 1774, on American taxation, in which he portrays the characters of the most eminent statesmen of the time.

“In the year 1765,” said Mr. Burke, “being in a very private station, far enough from any line of business, and not having the honour of a seat in this House, it was my fortune, by the intervention of a common friend, to become connected with a very noble person, and at the head of the treasury department. It was indeed in a situation of little rank and no consequence, suitable to the mediocrity of talents and pretensions, but a situation near enough to enable me to see, as well as others, what was going on; and I did see in that noble person such sound principles, such an enlargement of mind, such clear and sagacious sense, and such unshaken fortitude, as have bound me, as well as others much better than me, by an inviolable attachment to him from that time forward.” After speaking at large of several of the measures of government, in which however the Marquis had but a common concern with the rest of the ministers, he returns to Lord Rockingham individually, and, referring to a current rumour of the time that he had been bullied by Mr. Pitt into the repeal of the stamp act, thus concludes—“Sir, whether the noble Lord is of a complexion to be bullied by Lord Chatham, or by any man, I submit to those who know him. I confess, when I look back to that time, I consider him as placed in one of the most trying situations in which perhaps any man ever stood. There were in both

Houses new and menacing appearances, that might very naturally drive any other than a most resolute minister from his measure, or from his station. The household troops openly revolted. The allies of ministry, those I mean who supported some of their measures but refused responsibility for any, endeavoured to undermine their credit, and to take ground that must be fatal to the very cause which they would be thought to countenance. The question of repeal was brought on by the ministry, in the committee of this House, in the very instant when it was known that more than one Court negotiation was carrying on with the heads of the opposition. Every thing, upon every side, was full of traps and mines; earth below shook; heaven above menaced: all the elements of ministerial safety were dissolved. It was in the midst of this chaos of plots and counterplots; it was in the midst of this complicated warfare against public opposition and private treachery; that the firmness of that noble person was put to the proof. He never stirred from his ground, no, not an inch: he remained fixed and determined, in principle, in measure, and in conduct: he practised no managements; he secured no retreat; he sought no apology."

Thus we learn from Mr. Burke, whom even the partiality of friendship could not induce to violate truth, that the Marquis of Rockingham possessed, and exerted in times of difficulty and danger, courage and ability, and a rare degree of fortitude; qualities, especially the latter, unquestionably highly necessary to the character of a minister of state, but which, it must be admitted, require a variety of adjuncts to raise that character to fame, or to invest it with much more than ordinary respectability. He added to them in private life however all the dispositions which sweeten and adorn it, and the practice of all the virtues by which it is dignified.

The biographer of James, late Earl of Charlemont, tells us that "the regard and veneration of that nobleman for Lord Rockingham were almost unlimited." "He was charmed," says Mr. Hardy, "with the mild, yet firm integrity, of his mind, and the justness of his political principles, which he considered as founded in the

SECOND MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

best school of whiggism, that is such as Somers, and Townshend, and Walpole, and the Cavendishes, professed and adhered to at a time when the constitution was really in danger." Mr. Hardy has also preserved a letter from Lord Rockingham to Lord Charlemont, which we will insert here as a specimen of the Marquis's epistolary composition, as well as of his mode of expressing himself on public affairs.

"DEAR LORD CHARLEMONT,

"The state of my health continues but moderate. The influenza attacking me, while I was only recovering from old complaints, rendered me little capable of much active labour, and yet sometimes I contrive to get through a good deal of business, though in some matters I must run in arrear. I thank your Lordship for your last kind and cordial letter. I rejoice that your Lordship is pleased and satisfied with our conduct as ministers, and be assured, my dear Lord, that those persons whom formerly you honoured with your friendship, as individuals (because you approved their principles), will continue to act towards Ireland, and towards promoting the general good of the empire, with the same zeal, and liberal ideas, which have hitherto characterised their conduct. There are matters which may want adjustment in the new state in which England and Ireland now stand. I heartily wish that no time was lost on either side in accelerating the adjustment of any such matters which might hereafter cause any disputes or misunderstandings, and this happy moment of friendship, and cordiality, and confidence, between the countries, was made use of, to form and arrange plans of mutual and reciprocal support. Nothing was ever better timed than the kind offer made by Ireland of furnishing 20,000 men for the service of the fleet. Lord Keppel has sent one of the best and most alert men in the navy, to superintend and to receive the men which the zeal of Ireland will furnish. Captain Mac Bride has no occasion for my panegyric, but in writing to a friend like your Lordship, it is natural for me to say something in behalf of one I

CHARLES WATSON WENTWORTH,

have a great regard for, and who probably, in this business, may have frequent intercourse with your Lordship. Lord Keppel assures me that if he had a supply of seamen, he could add in three weeks not less than fourteen ships of the line to the fleet which Lord Howe will command. It will indeed at present be a very scanty fleet with which Lord Howe will proceed to sea. I verily believe France and Spain are alert: their fleet may be more than double the number of ours; but could we be enabled to send the ten or fourteen additional ships along with, or soon to join, Lord Howe, I should have the utmost reliance that the ability and conduct of Lord Howe would afford us the most pleasing prospect of success, even though the enemy's fleet might still be superior to ours in actual number of line-of-battle ships. Nothing but the friendly efforts of Ireland can rapidly furnish men for these ships.

"I take the opportunity of writing to your Lordship by the messenger whom I send to the Duke of Portland, to convey to his Grace, in a safe and expeditious manner, his Majesty's gracious confirmation and approbation of the resolution of the House of Commons of Ireland, in granting £50,000 to be laid out in the purchase of lands for Mr. Grattan. As soon as I received at the treasury the communication from the Duke of Portland, I directed the warrant to be prepared, and took the earliest opportunity of laying it before his Majesty for his signature. The proceedings in Ireland are upon a large and liberal scale, and though economy may be a necessary virtue in States, yet, in rewarding great public merit, narrow ideas on that subject are not good policy.—I have many compliments to make to your Lordship from Lady Rockingham. She is happy that so much good humour is likely to subsist between England and Ireland, and the more so, as she thinks that national and private friendship, going hand in hand, must be pleasing to your Lordship as well as to myself.

"I have the honour to be,

" *Grosvenor-square,
Monday, June 17, 1782.*"

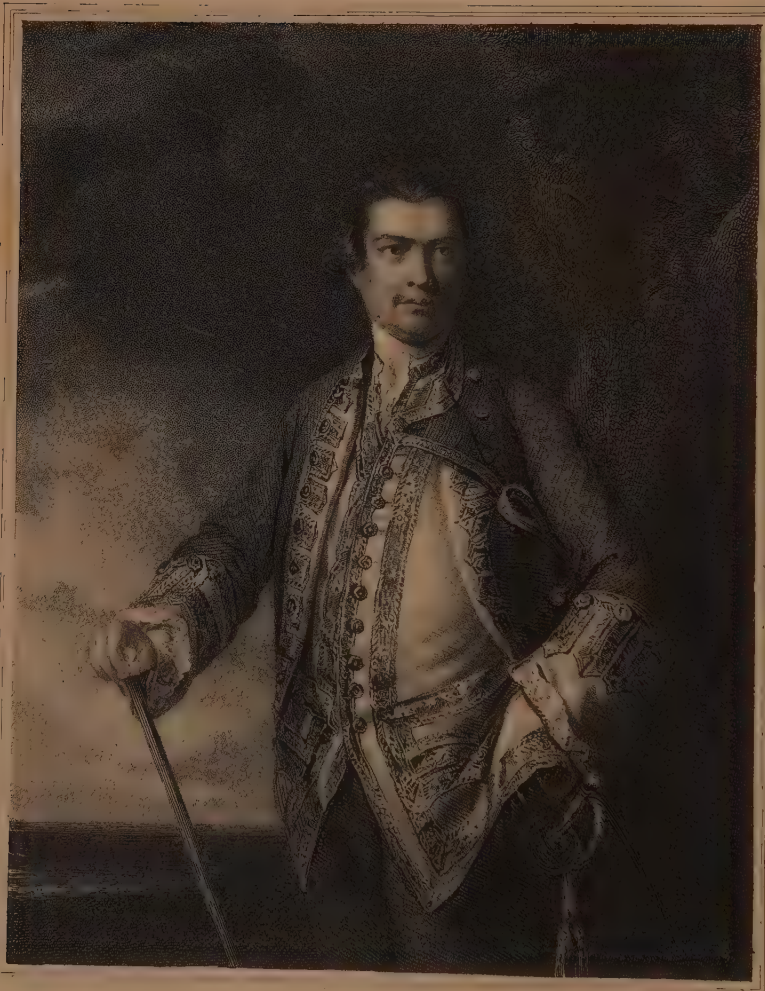
"My dear Lord, &c. &c.

"ROCKINGHAM.

SECOND MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

Lord Rockingham remained in retirement, overlooked and forgotten as much as a man of his splendid rank and fortune could be, for the long space of sixteen years. During this interval however, his conduct in his place in the House of Lords was consistent with the character and opinions he had always maintained, and proved that the principles for which he had contended, and which, as he believed, were essential to the dignity and welfare of the country, had undergone no change. At length the vigorous and unceasing efforts of Mr. Fox to overthrow the administration of Lord North having been crowned with success, the Marquis of Rockingham consented to be placed at the head of that which followed. The duration of the new administration was short ; but it was longer than the existence of the nobleman under whose name it is referred to in history. He however lived to see the menacing dissensions which had so long prevailed in Ireland happily and rationally composed, the beginning of that reform in the representation in Parliament, and in the expenditure of the public finances which he had always strenuously advocated, and the ground laid for the cessation of the exhausting and unprofitable contest with America. His death, and the changes which ensued upon it, broke up the administration from whose first measures so much more might have been justly expected, and postponed the fulfilment of the hopes it had excited to a more fortunate period. The Marquis died, after a very short illness, at his house at Wimbledon, in Surrey, on the second of July, 1782, and was buried in York Minster.

This nobleman married Mary, daughter and heiress of Robert Bright of Badsworth in the county of York, but left no issue.



Engraved by H.T. Ryall.

AUGUSTUS, VISCOUNT KEPPEL.

OB. 1786.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, IN THE COLLECTION OF
HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

PROOF

London: Published by T. Agnew & Sons, 15, Abchurch Lane, 1851.

AUGUSTUS, VISCOUNT KEPPEL.

THIS distinguished naval commander was the second son of William Anne, second Earl of Albemarle. The first Earl, Arnold Joost Van Keppel, Lord of Voorst, was descended from an old and noble family of the province of Gueldres, an origin to which Mr. Burke seems to refer as the source of that pride which was one of Admiral Keppel's characteristics. "He was," says that discerning friend, "of the oldest and purest nobility that Europe can boast, among a people renowned above all others for love of their native land. Though it was never shown in insult to any human being, Lord Keppel was somewhat high: it was a wild stock of pride, on which the tenderest of all hearts had engrafted the milder virtues. On the arrival of the Prince of Orange in England, he was accompanied by the young Lord of Voorst, then one of his pages. On that Prince's accession to the throne, Van Keppel continued to be employed in his household, and was subsequently intrusted with more important employments at home and abroad. His fidelity recommended him to the favour of his royal master, who rewarded the attachment he had displayed to his person and his valour in the field, where he served in several campaigns, by conferring on him many lucrative and distinguished posts; and by whom he was created, in 1696, Baron Ashford in Kent, Viscount Bury, and Earl of Albemarle, a title derived originally from a town in Normandy, and which had been in the English nobility from the time of the Conquest. His only son, William Anne, the second Earl, was born, and lived, during the

AUGUSTUS, VISCOUNT KEPPEL.

greater part of life, in England. He served in various military employments—held the rank of Lieutenant-General at Dettingen, commanded the right wing of the English army at Culloden; after which he was appointed General and Commander-in-chief in Scotland, and, in 1748, was sent as Ambassador to the Court of France. He was elected one of the Knights of the Garter, and was successively appointed a Privy-Councillor and one of the Lords Justices during the King's absence in Germany. His Lordship died at Paris, in December, 1754, while in the discharge of his office as Ambassador. By his marriage with Lady Anne Lennox, daughter of the first Duke of Richmond of that name, he had eight sons and seven daughters; of whom the subject of this memoir was the second son, who was born in the year 1727.

Augustus Keppel entered the navy at an early age, and served with credit in Commodore Anson's expedition to the South Seas. At the taking of Païta, he narrowly escaped destruction, a part of the cap he wore having been struck off close to his head by a cannon-ball, which, however, passed without wounding him. In December, 1744, he was raised to the rank of Captain; and, although the course of the war offered him no opportunity for any remarkable display of valour, he was engaged in very active service, and, by some single engagements with privateers, in which he was remarkably successful, he gained the reputation of an able seaman and a brave officer.

In the year 1748, the piratical attacks of the Barbarous states on the African coast had become so daring, and were so dangerous to the Mediterranean trade, that it was found necessary, for the honour of the British flag, to curb their power. Mr. Keppel sailed as Commodore of a small squadron, to demand satisfaction for some past injuries which had been committed by the Algerine cruisers, and to prevent the recurrence of similar offences. He was employed on this service, which was rendered somewhat difficult by the countenance afforded by the French government to the enemy, for rather more than three years; and terminated it at length by receiving the unqualified submission of the Dey of

AUGUSTUS, VISCOUNT KEPPEL.

Algiers and the states of Tripoli and Tunis, with whom he entered into treaties of peace and commerce.

In the beginning of the year 1755, on his elder brother attaining to the peerage, he succeeded him as member for Chichester; and in the next and several succeeding Parliaments was elected one of the representatives for the borough of Windsor.

In the war that ensued with France, Mr. Keppel was employed; but it was not until after the failure of an expedition which had been directed against the Island of Goree, in the early part of the year 1758, that any notable occasion offered in which he could distinguish himself. The attacks of the English force upon the French settlements on the coast of Africa had been so generally successful, that the miscarriage of that which had been directed against Goree was felt to be a disgrace, while the possession of that island by the enemy rendered the conquests of the British forces incomplete, and even insecure. A squadron, consisting of four ships of the line, several frigates, some smaller vessels, having on board about seven hundred soldiers, commanded by Colonel Worge, and two bomb ketches, was fitted out for the reduction of the island. The direction of the whole expedition was intrusted to Commodore Keppel. This armament sailed from Cork on the eleventh of December, 1758, and after a tempestuous passage of six weeks reached Goree, when the Commodore immediately commenced his dispositions for the attack. The French fortifications were of but indifferent strength, and the whole force of the commandant, M. de St. Jean, consisted only of three hundred regular troops, and about as many inhabitants of the island. The troops being disembarked, the engagement commenced by a heavy cannonading from the ships, which was returned with great spirit from the French batteries. The superiority of the English force was however so great, and their attack so vigorous, that the troops of the garrison became disconcerted, and quitted their quarters in spite of all the efforts and remonstrances of the commandant, who, having discharged his duty in the most gallant and honourable manner, was at length compelled to surrender at discretion. The

AUGUSTUS, VISCOUNT KEPPEL

French colours were struck, the British standard hoisted in their stead upon the principal fort, and the island, with its stores and merchandize of considerable value, and some merchant ships, which happened to be lying at anchor in the road, were taken possession of, at no greater cost on the side of the English than the loss of one hundred men killed and wounded. The French prisoners were dispatched in three cartel ships to France, and Major-General Newton with a part of the troops was left in possession of Goree, while the Commodore sailed with the rest of his force to Senegal, which had been taken at an earlier period of the war. The garrison at the latter place having been reinforced by the remainder of the troops, and Colonel Worge having been appointed Governor there, the English fleet returned to Spithead on the twenty-third of January, 1759, diminished, however, by the loss of the *Lichfield*, ship of war, commanded by Captain Barton, and one of the bomb-vessels, which were wrecked off the coast of Barbary. The Commodore on his arrival in London received the thanks of His Majesty, George the Second, for the successful and rapid manner in which he had acquitted himself of this service.

In the fleet which was employed under Sir Edward Hawke to watch the French coast and to prevent the invasion that had been so loudly threatened and was so earnestly resolved upon by the enemy, Captain Keppel commanded the *Torbay*. At the fight off Belleisle, on the twentieth of November, 1759, he engaged and sunk the French ship *Le Thésée*, and bore a distinguished share in the triumph of that day. In the following February he received the appointment of Colonel of the Plymouth division of Marines. At the taking of Belleisle, in 1761, he was employed to effect the landing of the troops, and assisted in the reduction of the citadel. In the following year he sailed as Commodore of the fleet destined for the attack of Cuba, and discharged this duty with so much ability as to merit the most unqualified approbation of Sir George Pococke, who had the chief command of the expedition. After the taking of Cuba, he was raised to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Blue; in the year 1765, was chosen one of the Elder Brethren

AUGUSTUS, VISCOUNT KEPPEL.

of the Trinity House, and appointed a Groom of His Majesty's Bed-chamber. On the twentieth of July, in the same year, he became one of the Lords of the Admiralty, which post he held till the month of December in the following year. From this period until the year 1778 he was not employed on active service, but his former exertions were recompensed by several successive promotions, and in January of that year he attained the rank of Admiral of the Blue.

In the beginning of June, 1778, the command of a fleet of twenty ships of the line, destined for the service of protecting the English commerce and the coasts, and of watching the movements of the enemy, was offered to him by Lord Sandwich, then presiding at the Admiralty. His avowed political sentiments were in direct opposition to those of the existing ministry, but neither this circumstance, nor the desire for repose, which after forty years of active service in the cause of his country might have reasonably excused his engaging in fresh conflicts, could induce him to withdraw from the opportunity that was presented to him of again devoting his skill and valour to her defence; and on the thirteenth of June, with Sir Robert Harland and Sir Hugh Palliser, as second and third officers in command, he sailed upon this service. In the course of his cruise two French frigates, the *Licorne* and the *Pallas*, having wantonly provoked the English vessels, were taken; but as reprisals had not at this time been declared, the enemy's merchant shipping was not molested. Admiral Keppel, having learned that the French fleet lying in the harbour of Brest consisted of thirty-two sail of the line, and foreseeing that he should have to encounter it, returned to St. Helen's, and demanded such an augmentation of his force as might enable him to cope with that of the enemy. This demand was complied with, and in a fortnight the Admiral sailed again, with ten additional ships, of which one only, the *Victory*, carried ninety guns, the others being all third-rate vessels. The fleet was formed into three divisions, of which the Admiral assumed the command of the centre; the van was allotted to Sir Robert Harland, and the rear to Sir Hugh

Palliser. The French fleet, commanded by the Count d'Orvilliers, had left the harbour on the eighth of July, and was now cruising off the coast of Brittany. On the twenty-third of the same month, the hostile armaments came in sight of each other, and the British admiral made signal for forming the line, which was not, however, effected before nightfall. On the following morning, it was discovered that the French fleet had gained the weather-gage, and appeared disposed to avoid a battle, which this advantage enabled them to do. The three following days were spent by the British fleet in endeavouring to chase so much to windward as would compel the enemy to engage, and on the twenty-seventh a sudden squall and fog concealed the forces from each other. On the weather clearing, the French fleet was discovered to leeward, and near the British van. Admiral Keppel immediately gave signal for forming the line, and the engagement began as the ships passed each other. Admiral Keppel's ship, the *Victory*, and the division which he commanded, were nearest to the enemy; Sir Robert Harland, who was to windward, was also ready for service; but Sir Hugh Palliser, with the rear division, was out of the line, and considerably to leeward. The position of the French fleet, and their movements, appeared to place the rear in great peril, and the possibility of its being cut off by the enemy excited the greatest anxiety in the commanders of the other two divisions. Admiral Keppel, under this impression, quitted the station he had taken up at the beginning of the engagement, and, leaving Sir Robert Harland to cover the rear, sailed with the centre division until he was opposite the enemy's van. In the meantime he made constant signals to Sir Hugh Palliser to join the line. These signals were however not obeyed until darkness prevented the continuation of the engagement. The French fleet was so ranged as to appear determined upon action, and the night was passed by the British force in eager anticipation of the morning which was to bring their enemy within their reach. Three lights on board the opposing fleet clearly marked out the position of the several divisions in which it had been ranged, when the approach

AUGUSTUS, VISCOUNT KEPPEL.

of night had shut them from the sight of the English seamen ; but when the daylight dawned, it was discovered that the French admiral had stolen away, and that the lights which had been so carefully watched were on board three frigates, which, as soon as the moment arrived at which the deception was no longer necessary, made sail after their companions. Admiral Keppel,—mortified at the disappointment by which the enemy had eluded his very grasp, declined to pursue them, as well from the improbability of being able to overtake them, as from the danger to which his own ships would be exposed from a lee shore,—returned with his fleet to Plymouth ; and the only advantage that was derived from the affair was, that the trading vessels from the East and West Indies, and from the Mediterranean, came to port in safety.

Although no small disappointment was felt at the result of this encounter of the two fleets, from which so much had been expected in England, it did not appear that blame was justly to be imputed in any quarter, and that accidents which could not have been foreseen or controlled had alone prevented the British navy from adding another triumph to the glorious list of its achievements. At a subsequent period, however, party-spirit so infused its venom into the transaction, as to render it extremely painful to the persons most intimately concerned, and harassing and discreditable to the nation. It was first insinuated, that the ministry had determined that the laurel of victory should not grace the brow of a Whig admiral, and that Sir Hugh Palliser's conduct was to be attributed to secret instructions he had received to that effect. The monstrous absurdity of such a notion was so apparent, that if the latter, a most gallant and deserving officer, had treated it with the scorn, which alone it merited, his reputation could not have suffered, nor could his feelings have been disturbed. Smarting, however, under the imputations contained in an anonymous letter which had appeared in an opposition newspaper, he wrote to Admiral Keppel, and required him to justify his (Sir Hugh Palliser's) conduct in the engagement. The Admiral had

already, in his dispatches, expressed himself generally satisfied with the conduct of the officers and men under his command; and although it appeared afterwards that he did consider Sir Hugh Palliser's conduct as the cause of his failure to bring the enemy to an engagement, he had attributed that conduct to accident or mistake, and entertained no notion that the commander of the rear division had acted culpably. Sir Hugh Palliser, however, insisted now upon such a statement in writing as would not only have exculpated him, but would have criminated the Admiral, who somewhat indignantly refused to comply with his request. His want of temper, and his sensitiveness to a contemptible accusation, then betrayed Sir Hugh Palliser into an imprudence of which the abettors of faction on either side took advantage. He published a letter in the newspapers, in which he bitterly and unjustly censured the conduct of the Admiral. This was retorted with equal acrimony, and probably with as little justice. The matter was taken up by the partisans of the ministry and of the opposition, between whom very angry discussions ensued; and at length Sir Hugh Palliser was goaded into the transmission of a letter to the Lords of the Admiralty, in December, 1778, containing a charge of misconduct and neglect of duty, on the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth of July, against the Admiral, the principal points of which were, that he had formed his line negligently; that he had not properly provided for covering the rear division; that he had omitted to seize the opportunity which offered for renewing the battle in the afternoon; and that he had neglected to pursue the enemy's fleet on the following morning. A court-martial was immediately ordered to be held at Portsmouth on these charges; and Admiral Keppel was informed that his trial would take place on the seventh of January. On that day it commenced, and was continued, without intermission, during thirty-one days, when the Court pronounced this judgment:—"That having heard the evidence and the prisoner's defence, and having maturely and seriously considered the whole, the Court was of opinion that the charge was malicious and ill-founded; it having

AUGUSTUS, VISCOUNT KEPPEL.

appeared that the said Admiral, far from having, by misconduct and neglect of duty on the days therein alluded to, lost an opportunity of rendering essential service to the state, and thereby tarnished the honour of the British navy, behaved as became a judicious, brave, and experienced officer. The Court, therefore, unanimously and honourably acquitted Admiral Keppel of the several articles contained in the charge against him." He afterwards received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. Mr. Burke, in his celebrated "Letter to a noble Lord," referring to this incident of Lord Keppel's life, pronounces upon him a high eulogium, in which the warmth of his affection for his then deceased friend expresses itself in a strain of noble eloquence. Alluding to a portrait of the Admiral, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, "the excellent friend," as he calls him, "of that excellent man from their earliest youth, and a common friend of us both; with whom we lived for many years, without a moment of coldness, of peevishness, of jealousy, or of jar, to the day of our final separation," he proceeds thus:—"I ever looked upon Lord Keppel as one of the greatest and best men of his age, and I loved and cultivated him accordingly. He was much in my heart, and I believe I was in his to the very last beat. It was at his trial at Portsmouth that he gave me this picture. With what zeal and anxious affection I attended him through that, his agony of glory. I believe he felt, just as I should have felt, such friendship on such an occasion. I partook indeed of this honour with several of the first, and best, and ablest in the kingdom, but I was behind-hand with none of them; and I am sure, that if, to the eternal disgrace of this nation, and to the total annihilation of every trace of honour and virtue in it, things had taken a different turn from what they did, I should have attended him to the quarter-deck with no less good-will, and more pride, though with far other feelings, than I partook of the general flow of national joy that attended the justice that was done to his virtue."

A court-martial was subsequently demanded by Sir Hugh Palliser on himself, in which, his behaviour in the engagement having

AUGUSTUS, VISCOUNT KEPPEL.

been investigated, he was also honourably acquitted, and his conduct declared to have been in many respects exemplary and highly meritorious.

The malignant spirit which had led to these painful and unnecessary proceedings was not pacified by their termination. The popular rage, which had been excited against the ministry, vented itself in disgraceful outrages, of which the Admiral's acquittal was made the pretext. The subject was introduced into Parliament; the administration was charged with having intentionally caused the failure of the expedition; and the animosity which these debates engendered was carried to such a pitch, that the Admiral declared, in his place in Parliament, he would not accept of any command under the existing government.

In the year 1780, he was elected member for Surrey. On the thirtieth of March 1782, when Lord North's administration was succeeded by that of the Marquess of Rockingham, he was appointed First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty and a Member of the Privy Council. The former post he resigned at the commencement of the Earl of Shelburne's ministry, in January, 1783, but resumed it in the following April. In April, 1782, he was created, by His Majesty's letters patent, Viscount Keppel of Elvedon, in the county of Suffolk, with a limitation to the heirs male of his body; but dying, on the third of October, 1786, unmarried, that title became extinct.



Engraved by H. B. Brown

GEORGE AUGUSTUS ELLIOTT, LORD HEATHFIELD.

OB. 1790.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, IN

THE NATIONAL GALLERY.

Engraved by H. B. Brown, from the original by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

GEORGE AUGUSTUS ELIOTT,

FIRST LORD HEATHFIELD.

LORD HEATHFIELD, of whom it may be said that he was all but born a soldier, was the eighth and youngest son of Sir Gilbert Elliott, of Stobbs, in Teviotdale, in the shire of Roxburgh, in Scotland, a Baronet of Nova-Scotia, by Eleanor, daughter of William Eliot, of Wells, in the same county, and was born on the twenty-fifth of December, 1717.

Designed from his cradle for the military profession, his general education, however, according to the laudable custom of his country, had been carefully superintended at home, from whence he was sent, when about the age of twelve, to the university of Leyden, where he became a respectable classical scholar, and acquired the French and German tongues, both of which he was always remarkable for writing and speaking with uncommon precision and elegance. Little time was passed in attaining these advantages, and he was yet a mere child, when he was removed to the celebrated military academy at La Fere, in Picardy, called l'Ecole Royal du Génie, which had been reared and matured under the care of Vauban, the father of the art of modern fortification. To that branch of warlike science, which was therefore particularly cherished in the school, the young Elliott, without neglecting others, peculiarly attached himself, and, having remained there about two years, visited the continent, with the view of seeing exemplified in

GEORGE AUGUSTUS ELIOTT,

active service the principles which he had so sedulously studied in the closet. Having collected all that presented itself in ambulatory observation, he at length entered the Prussian army, as a volunteer, and served in it in that capacity till the year 1735, when he returned to Scotland.

The twenty-third regiment of infantry was then at Edinburgh, and at the request of his father to his friend the Lieutenant-Colonel, he was received into it, also as a volunteer. In the following year, however, a commission was procured for him in the engineer corps at Woolwich, where he remained some time, and at length was removed into the second troop of horse grenadiers, of which his uncle, who was Lieutenant-Colonel, obtained for him the station of Adjutant. It is ascribed to his incessant attention and care in that office that the two troops acquired the foundation of that discipline which has rendered them the finest heavy cavalry in Europe. He formed an attachment to his corps, which increased gradually during about twenty years that he served in it, purchasing the commissions of Captain, Major, and Lieutenant-Colonel, and bravely fighting with it in all the actions of which it partook in the German war, in which he was wounded at the battle of Dettingen. He had now acquired a considerable military reputation, which was acknowledged by his reception into the number of the King's Aides-de-Camp. At length, in 1759, he quitted the horse grenadiers, upon his undertaking to raise and form that gallant regiment of light horse, still as well known by the appellation "Elliott's," as by that of its number, the fifteenth. This done, he led it into immediate service, being appointed to command the cavalry in an expedition to the coast of France, with the rank of Brigadier-General.

From France he passed into Germany, where he held a staff appointment, and served with considerable distinction. Here his own regiment confirmed that reputation for discipline, activity, and enterprise, which have earned for it the proud distinction of being the model upon which all the English light dragoon troops have been since formed. In 1762 his services were transferred to the

FIRST LORD HEATHFIELD:

Spanish West Indies, where, in conjunction with General Keppel, he assisted in the memorable conquest of the Havannah, in which his services, and those of General Keppel, and Lord Albemarle, who commanded in chief, were so nicely balanced that it is difficult to say to which the greatest share of praise was due. Eliott appears to have received no very considerable allotment of the great treasures captured at the Havannah, but he seems to have shewn no dissatisfaction. Not the smallest taint of a mercenary disposition was to be found in his character. When he returned from this last expedition, and the King, after reviewing his gallant corps, and receiving the standards which had been won, asked him what mark of approbation he could bestow in any degree correspondent to its merits, Eliott replied that his regiment would be proud if his Majesty should think that its deserts would justify him in allowing it in future to prefix to its style the adjunct epithet "royal": and, the King then adding that he wished to confer some mark of distinction on the General himself, he declared that he should ever think his Majesty's satisfaction with his services his best reward. It is said by those who knew him best, that these were probably the genuine sentiments of his heart.

The long interval of peace which now succeeded allowed him several years of a perhaps unwelcome repose, when, early in the year 1775, some symptoms of an unruly spirit having occurred in different parts of Ireland, rendered it proper to place at the head of the troops an officer of the highest military qualifications, and he was appointed Commander-in-chief. He immediately proceeded to Dublin, but even in the instant of his arrival, some occasion of umbrage occurred which his high spirit could not endure, and he desired to be recalled; and, on the eleventh of April, resigned his high employment to the Earl of Harcourt, then Lord Lieutenant. We have sought in vain for the cause of this offence: doubtless, however, his conduct regarding it had the silent approbation of his government at home, for he was presently after placed in the always, and then peculiarly, important station of Governor of Gibraltar. In the summer of 1779 followed that memorable siege,

GEORGE AUGUSTUS ELIOTT,

in which the combined efforts of France and Spain were to the utmost exerted in a contest for their success in which they stood in a manner pledged to the rest of Europe.

With the detail of its progress generally this work has no concern, it belongs to the military history of the country. We shall confine therefore our relation, as far as may be, to those circumstances in which the Governor was personally concerned, and we cite as our authority the published journal of a gallant and meritorious officer, who was present during the whole of the siege. He tells us that, from the first manifestation of hostilities on the part of the enemy, a general activity reigned throughout the garrison, promoted not a little by the example of the Governor, who was usually present when the workmen paraded at dawn of day ; that his attention to inventions and improvements in methods of defence, by whomsoever discovered, was only equalled by his constant care of the health of the garrison ; that he was not less vigilant in his management of provisions, and that, in a scarcity, particularly of bread, in the beginning of the winter of 1779, he lived himself, by way of example, on four ounces of rice daily. So earnestly did he endeavour to administer to the slender comforts of his troops, that, on the arrival of a vessel laden with wood, he personally superintended the division of it into proper allotments ; and, on the occasion of a private soldier having, at the risque of his own life, rescued an officer from the danger of a shell which fell near him, promoted and rewarded the soldier, telling him, however, that if the object of his care had been but his comrade, his humanity should have been equally acknowledged.

In a letter of the 20th of August, 1782, addressed by the Governor to the Duke de Crillon, who had then lately assumed the command of the besieging army, we find the following noble passage—" I return a thousand thanks to your Excellency for your handsome present of fruits, vegetables, and game. You will excuse me however, I trust, when I assure you that in accepting it I have broken through a rule to which I had faithfully adhered since the beginning of the war, and that was never to receive or procure,

FIRST LORD HEATHFIELD.

by any means whatever, any provisions, or other commodity, for my own private use, so that, without any preference, every thing is sold publicly here ; and the private soldier, if he have money, can become a purchaser as well as the Governor. I confess I make it a point of honour to partake both of plenty and scarcity, in common with the lowest of my brave fellow soldiers. This furnishes me with an excuse for the liberty I now take, of entreating your Excellency not to heap any more favours on me of this kind, as in future I cannot convert your favours to my own private use."

Those who may be inclined to depreciate this generosity might, it is true, refer with some plausibility to the indifference, not to say aversion, with which he regarded the luxuries of the table. He ate no animal food, and his only drink was water. He seems indeed to have established, upon cool deliberation, a system of hardship and self-denial, for his own practice as necessary to the exercise of his profession, and might not improperly be called a military philosopher. His refreshment of sleep never exceeded four hours, and so it has been truly said of him that, as he was up earlier and later than other men, and lived only on vegetables, it would have been difficult either to surprise such a commander of a garrison, or to starve him into a surrender. His example in these particulars spread itself among his troops : short intervals of rest, shorter diet, and severe exercise, were in early and constant use throughout all ranks, and the strictest rules of discipline became habitual earlier than the frequent occurrence of occasions for observing them. His vigilance was so unintermitted, his preparations so timely and so sagacious, that he was enabled to repel, with a comparatively small force, every assault to which he was successively exposed. He made no premature attacks on his besiegers, but observed with coolness the progress of labours which it cost them unbounded time, perseverance, and expense, to pursue, and then seized only the proper moment for rendering them abortive. He was sedulously careful of the lives of his men, and not less sparing of his ammunition, and never wasted either in shewy but idle operations.

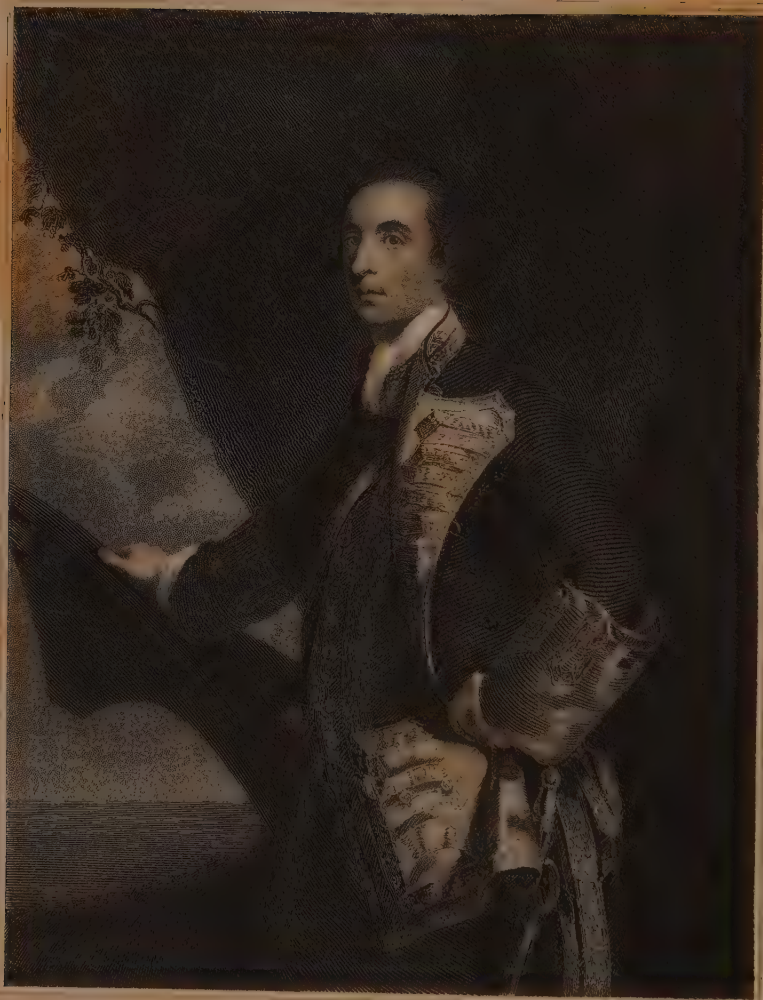
His discipline was peculiarly exerted in preventing, by the most severe prohibition of plunder, any needless aggravation of the ravages of war, and he was equally careful to preserve his own troops from the corrupt practices of persons who always contrive to connect themselves with the service. His ready attention to the complaints of those who had suffered from military oppression was curiously exemplified in an incident which occurred after the reduction of the Havannah, and was not less indicative of the mildness and kindness of his temper. A Frenchman, who had suffered from the depredations of the troops, found an opportunity of applying personally to the General, intreating him, in bad English, to procure the restoration of his property. His wife, who accompanied him, and who would scarcely suffer him to conclude his supplication, addressed him, in a rage—"Comment pouvez vous demander de grace à un homme qui vient vous dépouiller ? n'en espérez pas : vous n'êtes pas François." Elliott, who was at the time engaged in writing, now turned to her and said, "Madame, ne vous vous échauffez pas : ce qui votre mari demande lui sera accordé."—"Eh, faut il pour surcroit de malheur," cried she, "que le barbare parle le François !" The General smiled ; took care that their property should be restored ; and did them further services. Many pages might be filled with characteristic anecdotes of this great man, not less amiable than heroic. The grand and benign expression of his countenance in the annexed portrait, after perhaps the finest effort extant of Reynolds's pencil, must supply the deficiency.

On the twenty-third of April, 1783, immediately after the communication to him by the Duke de Crillon of a peace, and when the wonderful defence of Gibraltar had been, without intermission, maintained for three years, seven months, and twelve days, General Elliott was invested on the spot with the ensigns of the Order of the Bath. He received the well merited thanks of Parliament, and, remaining for his life in the custody of the great monument of his glory, was, on the sixth of July, 1787, elevated to a British peerage, by the title of Baron Heathfield of Gibraltar,

FIRST LORD HEATHFIELD.

and on the same day of the same month, in the year 1790, died, of a paralytic seizure, at a seat which he had at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Lord Heathfield married Anne Pollexfen, daughter of Sir Francis Drake, of Buckland in Devonshire, Baronet, and had by her, who died in 1772, Francis Augustus, his successor, in whom the title became extinct: two other sons, who died infants; and one daughter, Anne, married to John Trayton Fuller, of Brightling, in Sussex.



Engraved by H. Robinson

GEORGE LORD RODNEY.

OB. 1792.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

GEORGE BRYDGES RODNEY,

FIRST LORD RODNEY.

THIS bright ornament to the long list of our naval heroes was born in the month of December, 1717, second of the three sons of Henry Rodney, of Walton on Thames, in early life a cornet of horse, and afterwards a captain of marines, by Mary, eldest daughter and coheir of Sir Henry Newton, an eminent civilian, who had been employed in some diplomatic missions to the Italian States. It has been said that he received his Christian names from George the First, and the Duke of Chandos; that the royal yacht was commanded by his father, who during one of the King's voyages to his German dominions, attended by that nobleman, asked, and obtained, permission so to baptize him, and that they were his godfathers. Now it is well known that the King's yacht is always commanded by a naval officer of considerable distinction, and we have seen here that his father was not regularly even in the naval service. To this may be added the fact that no Duke of Chandos was in existence till two years after the birth of his son; yet we are told that it was "in obedience to his royal and noble godfathers" that the youth was placed in the sea-service; and thus one misrepresentation usually begets another. As this subject, though of little moment, has been carried thus far, it may not improperly be observed that some of his early years were passed in the family of George Brydges, of Keynsham in Somersetshire, representative of a younger line of the House of Chandos, who had probably been his sponsor, and had given him those names.

GEORGE BRYDGES RODNEI,

He entered the navy very young, and is said to have presently gained the esteem of his officers, as well by his general conduct as by his attention to his professional duties. In the spring of 1742 he was appointed by Admiral Matthews, then commanding the fleet in the Mediterranean, one of his Lieutenants, and in the end of the same year was promoted by that gentleman to be captain of the *Plymouth*, of sixty guns, from which he passed successively through the commands of the *Sheerness*, and the *Ludlow Castle*, to the *Eagle*, also of sixty guns, newly built, and then cruising on the Irish station. In this ship occurred his first success, in the capture of a French and a Spanish privateer, powerful vessels, which he carried into the harbour of Kinsale; and he remained in the command of her till the end of that war, and had an eminent share in the brilliant victory obtained by Sir Edward Hawke, in October, 1747, off Cape Finisterre, over the French fleet, led by M. De Vaudreuil. In this action he was long desperately engaged with two of the enemy's ships at once—"The *Eagle*," said Sir Edward, in his letter to the Admiralty, "fell twice on board the Admiral's ship, owing to her having her wheel shot to pieces; all the men at it killed; and her braces and bow-lines gone."

In March, 1749, after the end of the war, he was removed to the command of the *Rainbow*, a fourth-rate, and on the ninth of the following May was appointed Governor of the Island of Newfoundland, whither he sailed with a small squadron which was usually stationed there in time of peace. During his absence on this service, he was returned to Parliament for the borough of Saltash, as he was, soon after the next general election, for that of Oakhampton. He now obtained the command of the *Kent*, of seventy guns, commissioned as a guard-ship at Portsmouth, which he held till the year 1755, when he was removed to the *Prince George*, of ninety, in which he remained inactive till May, 1757, and was then appointed captain of the *Dublin*, a seventy-four gun ship, in which he this year again served under Admiral Hawke in the memorable but fruitless expedition against Rochefort. In the

FIRST LORD RODNEY.

succeeding spring he sailed with Admiral Boscawen on a cruise in the Atlantic, and, on the fourteenth of February 1759, was raised to the station of Rear-Admiral of the Blue, in which he sailed soon after, with a small squadron of ships of war and bomb-vessels, on an expedition against Havre de Grace, where a formidable preparation had been long in progress for an invasion of England or Ireland. The vigilance, activity, bravery, and skill, which distinguished him in this enterprise, were incomparable, and it is with reluctance that we forbear, particularly as the plan, and the orders for the execution of it, were wholly his own, to relate it in full detail. It must suffice to say that he dispersed, and indeed nearly destroyed, the whole of the armament of flat-bottomed boats which had been equipped, together with their magazine of stores, and the town of Harfleur, in which it was deposited. He remained long after this signal success on the French coast, for to such a height had the apprehensions of invasion arisen in London, that it had become matter of serious policy to neglect no means of obviating them.

In the Parliament which met in 1761, he was returned for Penryn, and was now appointed to command an expedition for the attack of Martinico, on which he sailed on the eighteenth of October. It was completely successful, and may be truly considered as the prelude to the conquest of all the French possessions in the West Indies, in all of which he was eminently instrumental. At the conclusion of these services, he received the commission of Vice-Admiral of the Blue; on the twenty-first of January, 1764, was created a Baronet; and on the third of December in the succeeding year, appointed Master of Greenwich Hospital. The first material act of his leisure was highly unpropitious, not to say ruinous, in the minds of all except himself, who valued little but his honour. On the dissolution of the Parliament in 1768, tempted by the hope of success built on a family connexion which will be hereafter mentioned, he offered himself a candidate in a contested election for the town of Northampton, which he gained at the expense of perhaps the whole that he had

GEORGE BRYDGES RODNEY,

realised in the course of his now long service. In October, 1770, he became Vice-Admiral of the White, and then of the Red squadrons, and in the August of the following year Rear-Admiral of Great Britain, immediately after which he was appointed to the chief command on the Jamaica station, on assuming which he resigned his office of Master of Greenwich Hospital.

At the expiration of the term allotted for the continuance of that service his embarrassments compelled him to retire to France, where he was residing in obscurity, and almost penury, when, on the twenty-ninth of January 1778, he was promoted to the station of Admiral of the White. It has been reported, but with great improbability, that about this period, Louis the Fifteenth, apprised of his necessities, made him the most splendid offers to tempt him to engage in the service of France. Those who tell this story, affect to give us the very words of Rodney's answer to the Duke de Biron, whom the king had commanded to make the proposal—"My distresses, sir, it is true, have driven me from the bosom of my country, but no temptation can estrange me from her service. Had this offer been voluntary on your part, I should have deemed it an insult, but I am glad to learn that it proceeds from a source that can do no wrong." It is added that "the Duke was so struck by the patriotism of the Admiral that he became attached to him as a friend, and is said to have advanced a sum of money to him, that he might revisit England, in order to solicit a command." However doubtful the former part of the tale, thus much is certain; that he did, during his exile, contract a strict intimacy with that nobleman, who, with a generosity truly chivalrous, supplied him with a loan so extensive as to enable him to return with ease, and that at a time when hostilities had lately recommenced between the two countries.

At the conclusion of the year 1779 he was appointed Commander-in-chief on the Leeward Island station, whither he was ordered to repair with a powerful fleet, and on his way to relieve Gibraltar, then besieged by the Spaniards. He sailed from Spithead about the middle of December, and, on the eighth of the

FIRST LORD RODNEY.

following month, fell in with sixteen sail of Spanish merchantmen bound to Cadiz, under convoy of a line of battle ship, and six frigates, the whole of which surrendered to him, without resistance. Passing on towards Gibraltar, he met on the fourteenth, off Cape St. Vincent, with a Spanish fleet of eleven ships of the line and two frigates, which he instantly engaged, and, in an action which continued unremittingly for ten hours, destroyed or captured seven of the former, the Admiral, Don Juan de Langara, falling into his hands. This signal victory thus accomplished, he sailed to Gibraltar, which having effectually relieved, he pursued his course to the West Indies, and off St. Lucia found the French fleet, in force superior to his own, but evidently inclined to avoid an action. After several days, however, he brought them to engage, and was, though not with circumstances so decisive as those which marked his late discomfiture of the Spaniards, again victorious. "At the conclusion of the battle," said he in his own dispatches, "the enemy might be said to be completely beaten." He attempted for many days to bring them again to a general engagement, but they were successful in eluding his endeavours, till they were at length joined near Guadaloupe by eighteen Spanish ships of the line, and Rodney was obliged, in his turn, to stand on the defensive.

The news of these accumulated successes was received in England with a degree of delight and approbation which amounted to extravagance. He who had so lately been banished by private misfortune from his country; neglected by her ministers; forgotten by her people; restored to his family, and private friends, but by the bounty of a foreigner, and a public enemy; became now, as it were in a moment, the prime object of applause and honour; the very idol of all classes of his fellow-subjects. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were unanimously voted to him; the statutes of the Order of the Bath were infringed by admitting him a supernumerary Knight Companion; the city of Westminster, unsolicited, elected him one of its representatives. The very mention of his name excited all the emotions of love,

and joy, and gratitude. "How strangely and rapidly," to use the words of one who has written largely of him, "he quickly afterwards fell in the public esteem, will be presently shown." He fell however to rise again with additional glory.

Rodney, accompanied by General Vaughan, who commanded the troops on board the fleet, now sailed to the island of St. Vincent, on a misrepresentation of its defenceless state, and landed those forces, in the hope of reducing it, but found the enemy in such strength that he was well satisfied to withdraw them without loss. A reinforcement of seven ships of the line soon after arrived, bringing with them instructions for the immediate attack of the Dutch settlements in those seas, and particularly of the island of St. Eustatia, where the base Hollanders, our professed allies, had established a vast magazine of naval and military stores, solely for the supply of our combined enemies. It surrendered on the third of February, 1781, without resistance: the commanders formally confiscated all that it contained; and property nearly to the amount of three millions sterling fell into their hands; together with one hundred and fifty merchant ships, richly laden, and some vessels of war. Rodney, in his despatches to the Admiralty communicating the news of this important event, says, "I most sincerely congratulate their Lordships on the severe blow the Dutch West India company, and the perfidious merchants of Amsterdam, have sustained by the capture of this island." And in a subsequent letter—"Give me leave to congratulate your Lordship on the acquisition of the two Dutch colonies of Demerara and Essequibo, upon the Spanish main; and, although more colonies have surrendered upon the supposed terms granted to St. Eustatia, yet General Vaughan and myself thought they ought to be put quite on a different footing, and not treated as an island whose inhabitants, though belonging to a state who by public treaty was bound to assist Great Britain against her avowed enemies, had nevertheless openly assisted her public enemy, and the rebels to her state, with every necessary implement of war and provisions, perfidiously breaking those treaties they had sworn to maintain."

FIRST LORD RODNEY.

On the justice of this condign chastisement there could be but one reasonable opinion, and the King and the Government immediately manifested their approbation of the Admiral's conduct by the grant of a pension of two thousand pounds to himself, with suitable annuities to his Lady, and to each of his children. In the mean time, however, heavy complaints from those who were, or pretended to be, innocent sufferers, arrived in England, which were loudly echoed by certain merchants of London who had been concerned in the infamous traffic. Rodney was represented as having sacrificed his duty to his private interests; his continuance for some time at St. Eustatia, in accordance with his plans of future operations, was ascribed to his eagerness for the more speedy and advantageous sale of his prizes; and every calumny that could be founded on the occasion was levelled at him. A desperate faction in the House of Commons at length found it convenient to join the outcry, and the finest talents in that assembly were prostituted in the aggravation of these slanders. He became for a short time the most unpopular public man in the kingdom. Meanwhile his warfare was in some degree unsuccessful. A powerful French squadron, commanded by the Count de Grasse, appeared in the West Indies early in the summer of 1781. Rodney, with an inferior force, used every effort to bring them to action, which they not only contrived to avoid, but at length seized the island of Tobago, almost in his sight. He soon after resigned the command of the fleet to Sir Samuel Hood, and sailed for England in very ill health, doubtless increased by chagrin, where, immediately on his arrival, an inquiry into the affair of St. Eustatia was instituted, in the conclusion of which he utterly refuted every particular of the charge which had been prepared against him, with a manliness and candour which would have covered with confusion any other party than that which had combined to persecute him.

On the sixth of November he was appointed, on the death of Lord Hawke, Vice-Admiral of Great Britain, and was within a few days after replaced in his West India command. He repaired

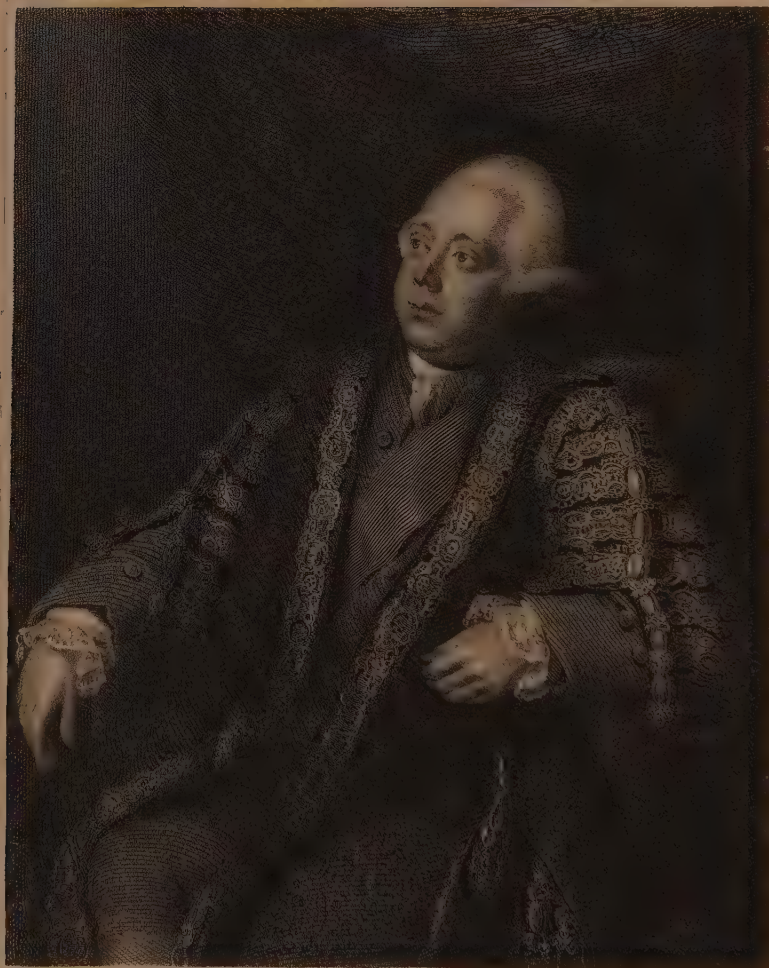
GEORGE BRYDGES RODNEY,

without delay to that station, where, being joined by Sir Samuel Hood, and some other force which had followed him from home he found himself at the head of thirty-six ships of the line. After long delays, the Count de Grasse put to sea on the eighth of April, and Sir George, pursuing him with the utmost possible speed, overtook him near the island of Dominica. De Grasse still endeavoured to stand only on the defensive. He approached however so near, that Rodney, after a heavy cannonade between the two fleets in passing each other on contrary tacks, was enabled to gain the weather gage, and so to force the French to an action, which lasted the whole of the twelfth of April, and is said to have been in a great measure decided by the manœuvre, then nearly new in naval tactics, of breaking through the enemy's line on the part of the British. Be that as it might, a complete and decisive victory was gained by them. The Count de Grasse, in the *Ville de Paris*, of one hundred and ten guns, with four other ships of the line, fell into the hands of the conqueror, and another was sunk in the action. In the very hour, as may be said, of this splendid success, the faction which had so lately essayed to make his ruin one of their stepping-stones to the attainment of power, and had now seized on the government, sent out an officer to supersede him, who had sailed too far to be recalled when the glorious news arrived in London. In the following September he returned to meet a renewal of vain and worthless popularity, and a solid and honourable reward for the services thus splendidly ended. On the nineteenth of June, 1782, he had been advanced to the Peerage, by the title of Baron Rodney, of Rodney Stoke, in the county of Somerset; and on the first of the following month the House of Commons had voted to him a pension of two thousand pounds, with remainder to his male heirs for ever.

Lord Rodney died in London, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1792, having been twice married; first to Jane, daughter of Charles Compton, and sister to Spencer, eighth Earl of Northampton of his family, by whom he had issue George, his successor;

FIRST LORD RODNEY.

James, a captain in the Navy, who was lost at sea in 1776 ; and Jane, who died in infancy. By his second Lady, Henrietta, daughter of John Clies, a merchant of Lisbon, he had two sons ; John and Edward ; and four daughters ; Jane, married to William, son of the late Sir William Chambers ; Henrietta, Sarah Brydges, and Margaret Anne.



Engraved by W. T. Mote.

FREDERICK NORTH, EARL OF GUILDFORD.

OB. 1792.

FROM THE ORIGINAL BY DANCE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE HON^{BLE} GEORGIANA NORTH.

FREDERICK NORTH,

SECOND EARL OF GUILDFORD.

THIS statesman, who conducted the public government of Great Britain through what has been justly called "a long, a stormy and, at length, an unfortunate administration," was the eldest son of Francis, Earl of Guilford. He was born on the thirteenth of April, 1732, and was educated first at Eton, and afterwards at Trinity College, Oxford, where he acquired a proficiency which few of his contemporaries surpassed in classical literature, and in the other branches of polite learning. Leaving college with a high reputation for genius and attainments, he passed some years in traveling on the continent, and during a residence of several months at Leipsic acquired a knowledge of the languages and constitutions of the European states, which contributed eminently to qualify him for the pursuits with which his subsequent life was almost wholly occupied.

Soon after his return to England, at the general election in 1754, he was returned to Parliament for Banbury, and thenceforward devoted himself wholly to public business, for which he soon displayed great aptitude. In June, 1759, he was appointed one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and, on the resignation of Lord Bute in 1763, was placed at the head of that board. On the formation of the Rockingham administration he resigned this post, but in June, 1766, he again came into office as Joint Receiver and Paymaster of the Forces, and in the same year was sworn of the Privy Council. The death of Mr. Charles Townshend, in

FREDERICK NORTH,

October, 1767, occasioned several important changes in the administration, one of which was the promotion of Lord North to the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, an elevation for which he was indebted to the influence of the Bedford party with which he had associated himself. In January, 1770, the administration having been broken up by the resignation of the Duke of Grafton, a new one was formed, of which Lord North, who succeeded to the Duke's office of first Lord of the Treasury, was the head, and from this period commenced a series of events which cannot be regarded otherwise than as most disastrous to the welfare and reputation of Great Britain.

The affairs of America, which had begun shortly before this time to engage the public attention, were brought before Parliament in March, 1770. The question to be decided was, the right possessed by this country to tax America. Lord North, who possessed more of that ingenuity which is calculated to evade a pressing difficulty, than of the foresight and firmness which are required of a statesman in an urgent and momentous crisis, adopted a course which wholly defeated the mild and conciliatory disposition that had suggested it. He reduced the amount of taxation, but endeavoured to maintain the right; in other words, he taught the revolted colonies that he feared their power, or distrusted that of his own government. It is needless to recapitulate the evils which ensued from this temporising policy, or which this his first ministerial measure was too obvious an omen, and which ended in the dismemberment of the empire, under circumstances of defeat and disgrace infinitely more bitter than the loss by which they were accompanied.

At home Lord North acquired great popularity, in the early part of his administration, by the flattering picture he drew of the state of the public finances. The revenue, as he represented it, was already sufficient to leave a large surplus for discharging the national debt; the retrenchments which he contemplated would increase this prosperity; and by means of his administration, and, more than all, by his economy of the public money, he

SECOND EARL OF GUILDFORD.

professed his ability, even if war should ensue, to carry on the contest without any additional taxation. His plans for the better government of India, then in a state of great depression, as well political as commercial, were universally approved of, and added greatly to the popularity he enjoyed. Up to the end of the year 1773, the prospect of affairs was indeed well calculated to justify the estimation in which he was held, and the hopes he had raised. America was for a time tranquillised, the domestic discontents had subsided, commerce was in an increasing and flourishing condition, the national debt was in a course of liquidation ; and if no events more trying or difficult than those with which he had hitherto had to grapple had ensued, his promises would in all probability have been realised, and his reputation would have endured in the same high and palmy state to which his energies and talents had raised it at the period now referred to.

In March 1774, the Parliament of Great Britain was called upon to adopt measures of a most coercive nature, and of dangerous policy, against the American colonies, in consequence of the riots which had taken place in the port of Boston. At an earlier period, perhaps severity might have been usefully resorted to ; but the time had now passed, it was in vain that the opposition pointed out, in a spirit of prophecy which subsequent events too fully realised, that the consequence of such proceedings as were then suggested would be, to compel a confederacy between the provinces which had heretofore been divided, and would produce a combined resistance to the mother country ; in vain objections were urged to the principle and justice of the proposed law ; the majority were not to be convinced, and after a lengthened debate of seventeen days, in which Lord North's eloquence and address were exhibited in their most captivating forms, his fatal triumph was achieved, and shortly afterwards England and America were engaged in irreconcilable hostilities.

From this period the administration was attacked by an opposition too keen-sighted to permit the inconsistencies of the government to pass unexposed, while the events of the war justified the

FREDERICK NORTH,

charges which were brought against it. "Never," said Mr. Burke, addressing the House of Commons, "have the servants of the state looked at the whole of your complicated interests in one connected view: they have taken things by bits and scraps, just as they pressed, without regard to their relations and dependencies; they never had any system, right or wrong, but only occasionally invented some miserable tale of the day in order to sneak meanly out of difficulties into which they had proudly strutted." The accusation was too true; but the burthen of it did not rest upon Lord North. His frequent absence from the House during the discussions, at the latter end of 1774, gave rise to an opinion that his Lordship's private sentiments did not in all respects concur with the measures which as Minister of the Crown it was his duty to carry forward; and whether this notion was well founded or not, it is at least true that his love of peace and the amiable qualities of his mind were not consistent with the policy pursued by the existing government. That some of the provinces of the revolted colonies had manifested a spirit of discontent and insubordination which would have justified the strongest measures on the part of this country, cannot be disputed; but others of them were so well affected that they would rather have taken part with the British government than have braved the dangers of a total disunion. The fault committed by the administration was, that by one rash resolve they treated the whole of the Colonies as enemies, while by a wiser policy they might have effectually curbed the spirit of resistance and republicanism which had been manifested in Massachusetts, and have preserved the possessions of the Crown. For this grave fault it is that Lord North, at the head of that administration, has to answer to posterity.

From the passing the first coercive measure, which involved a virtual declaration of war against America, no opportunity offered in which the mistake which had been committed could be repaired. All the attempts of the government to detach from the confederacy which their own acts had in fact formed, such of the

SECOND EARL OF GUILDFORD.

provinces as yet retained any feeling of loyalty, were not only fruitless, but they implied a conviction on the part of Ministers that their first steps had been taken in error. The angry opposition, headed by men of great abilities, whom the miscarriages of our arms on the transatlantic continent furnished with powerful topics of censure and complaint, kept up an incessant attack upon the Ministry, the brunt of which Lord North had to bear. How well he acquitted himself the history of the Parliamentary Debates sufficiently proves. His wit, and eloquence, and imperturbable good temper, the acknowledged worth of his individual character, and the urbanity of his demeanour, while they could not wholly extinguish the flame of party spirit, neutralised much of its acerbity; and, although he was charged in his official capacity with the gravest offences, the most rabid of his opponents would not have hesitated to admit that, as a private gentleman, he was beyond all exception, and the chief grace of the society in which he moved.

In the course of one of the discussions which ensued in the progress of the American war, he was led, in the ardour of debate, and in replying to one of the numerous attacks against him which had been led by Mr. Fox with his utmost vehemence, to say, that he was ready to resign his office whenever the House of Commons should think fit to withdraw from him its confidence. This intimation confirmed the suspicions which had before been entertained of his being at variance with other members of the government, and furnished to his opponents a topic which they never failed to make use of against him. Whenever they had anything to complain of, it was characterised as a subject which ought to enforce the minister's resignation; and this argument was so often repeated that, although it convinced no one, it established the notion that Lord North was not unwilling to withdraw from the incessant toils and the untiring attacks to which he was exposed.

The defeat of General Burgoyne and his troops at Saratoga, in 1777, was attributed to the erroneous and ill-advised directions of ministers. Lord North, who seemed on this occasion to feel that

FREDERICK NORTH,

the censures which were launched against him were not altogether unmerited, made a speech in the House of Commons which was better calculated to disarm the angry feelings that raged against the government, than to convince the people even of his own confidence in the efficacy or propriety of the measures for which he had become responsible. He justified the conduct he had pursued on the ground of the difficulty and novelty of the situation in which he had been placed, and insinuated that the force of circumstances had led him into a line of conduct which, if he had been left to the dictates of his own deliberate judgment, he should not have pursued. His antagonists were not slow in availing themselves of the admission which he had thus made: they contended that if his motives were blameless his incapacity was apparent, and that the time had arrived when, according to his own engagement, he ought to resign his post.

It is possible that these painful remonstrances might have produced the effect which their promoters contemplated, if the success of British arms elsewhere had not consoled the minister for the mortifications he was doomed to experience from America. But the error he had committed respecting the colonies was his only fault. When France, with a want of faith which was rendered more atrocious by the baseness of the motive which suggested it, declared herself the enemy of Great Britain, and when Spain, lured by the hope of aggrandisement, followed similar councils, the vigilance and spirit of the ministry roused the energies of the country so successfully, that they defied the mighty combination which was arrayed against them and vindicated their ancient glory, while they put to utter shame the machinations of their enemies. The measures which Lord North introduced for calming the discontents and for promoting the prosperity of Ireland were so unquestionably beneficial, so wise and enlightened, that while both nations invoked blessings on his name for the advantages he conferred on them, even the opposition admitted that he was entitled to applause; and, upon one occasion at least, he proved that the mild and conciliatory course, to which his

SECOND EARL OF GUILDFORD.

judgment and his inclination led him, might be productive of no less useful results than the severe measures which persons of a less liberal, though a firmer temper, would have adopted.

The defeat of Lord Cornwallis, in October 1781, brought about a crisis in the affairs of the government. The ensuing session of Parliament opened with a violent attack on the part of the opposition against ministers, and the measures they had pursued. Lord North defended himself and his colleagues with success, as far as his success depended on the votes of the House of Commons, but failed in convincing the public, and in disarming the opposition. The attempts of the latter to displace the minister were almost incessant, and having learnt, after frequent defeats, that their want of power was owing to the disunion that prevailed among themselves, they adopted a more systematic plan of operations, which ultimately effected their object. The ministerial majorities began to decline sensibly on various important questions, and at length, in February 1782, a motion of General Conway's for an address to His Majesty, praying him to put an end to the American war, was carried by a majority of twenty-nine votes.

The time had now arrived, the opposition insisted, when Lord North was bound to redeem his pledge; and that, as the House of Commons had expressed their dissatisfaction with his policy, he could no longer, consistently with his often-repeated promises, continue to hold office. Ministers however did not agree to this view of matters. Lord North denied that it appeared by any vote of the House that Parliament had withdrawn its confidence from the government. To try the question thus raised, Lord John Cavendish, on the 8th of March following, proposed a series of resolutions recapitulating the losses the country had sustained since the year 1775, and concluding that the chief cause of these accumulated misfortunes was, the united incapacity and misconduct of the administration. To a charge so general, and embracing so wide a field, it would have been easy for a less accomplished debater than Lord North to give a plausible, if not

FREDERICK NORTH,

a convincing reply ; but he did more, he engaged with so much ingenuity and address the fears and other passions of the various parties composing the House of Commons, that they declined to join in resolutions, which would have displaced the existing ministry, and given the reins of government into the hands of the leaders of opposition. This victory, brilliant as it was under such circumstances as beset him, was yet without any more favourable result to Lord North than the personal triumph which it afforded him. He felt that against his harassing and indefatigable opponents he could not much longer maintain the contest ; perhaps too he felt that the struggle was not worth being kept up, and on a motion, similar to that which had been negatived, being brought before the House a few days afterwards, he announced that there was no existing administration. Then taking leave of the House of Commons, in a speech of admirable propriety and dignity, he said, that although a successor of greater ability might be easily found, he might be allowed to say that a successor more zealously attached to the interests of his country, more loyal to his sovereign, more desirous of preserving the constitution whole and entire, could not so easily be found. He concluded by inviting the strictest scrutiny into his conduct, and by defying that impeachment with which he had been repeatedly threatened, but which no one ventured to bring forward.

In the Rockingham and Shelburne administration which ensued, Lord North led one of the divisions of the opposition. Upon the dissolution of that government the famous coalition between Lord North and Mr. Fox was formed, which, whatever were its merits in other respects, is at least a proof of the great personal estimation in which his lordship was held, even by men who, in the heat of debate, and under the influence of party feeling, had not scrupled to ascribe to him misconduct amounting to criminality. After the breaking up of the short-lived coalition ministry, Lord North held no responsible situation, and took little share in the discussions in parliament, excepting in the debates on the Regency

SECOND EARL OF GUILDFORD.

in 1789, when he opposed the ministerial project with the same eloquence and wit which had marked the best efforts of his more vigorous years.

During several of the latter years of his life he was afflicted with total blindness, a calamity which however neither disturbed the amenity of his temper, nor prevented him from enjoying the calm delights with which the resources of his accomplished mind solaced the hours of retirement, and the infirmities of declining age. In 1790, on the death of his father, he succeeded to the Earldom, and survived that event only two years, dying on the 5th of August, 1792. His Lordship was married, in March, 1756, to Anne, daughter of George Speke, Esq. of White Lackington, Somersetshire, by whom he had four sons, and three daughters, on the eldest of which sons, George Augustus, his titles and estates devolved.

In estimating Lord North's character as a statesman, it must be admitted that he was somewhat deficient in that severe and audacious spirit which the dangerous times in which he lived and the difficulties it was his lot to encounter, required. But on the other hand, men of all parties have borne testimony to the purity of his motives, the amiability of his temper, his high sense of honour, and his unquestionable probity; while his fine genius and fertile talents added a high grace and splendour to as happy a combination of social qualities as ever dignified the character of a British nobleman.

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